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Centre Culturel Islamique, Paris

No. 2/c

The earliest extant work on the Hadith

# **SAHIFAH HAMMAM IBN MUNABBIH**

By

**AMMAD HAMIDULLAH**

BP

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1979



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# **SAHIFAH HAMMAM IBN MUNABBIIH**

Comprising as-Sahifah as-Sahihah of Abu-Hurairah (d. 58 H./ 677) prepared for his pupil Hammam ibn Munabbih (d. 101H./ 719), together with an Introduction to the history of the early compilation of the Hadith,

*by*

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Translated into English

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10th Revised & Enlarged Edition

1399 H./1979



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# ***Bismillah !***

## ***Preface to the Present Edition***

Praise be to God ever and anon. Since our last edition about a score of years ago, this work has been translated into Turkish by three different persons, in ignorance of each other, and into French by a French scholar. This last was realized with the collaboration of the author. So the present English edition is practically identical with the French one.

According to its humble means, the *Centre Culturel Islamique*, Paris, continues its modest work, and enabling power as well as effect come from the Almighty, praise be to Him from the beginning to the end !

Paris, Shauwal 1397 H.

For the Editorial Board  
of C. C. I.,  
M. H.



## From the Foreword to the First English Edition

The history of the compilation and conservation of the Hadith has too great an importance to require any emphasis. The present work brings into light not only the text of the earliest extant work on the subject, — by a close companion of the Holy Prophet, — but also collects material hitherto dispersed, to shed light on the efforts of early Muslims to codify and transmit to posterity the precious traditions of their Prophet. Incidentally it dispels many a misapprehension caused by the writings of Western pioneers in the field to whom were not accessible many works that have since been discovered.

Paris, Rajab 1379 H.

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2. *Le Prophete de l'Islam, sa vie et son oeuvre*, 2 vols., par M. Hamidullah, Paris, 1959. 2nd revised ed. Beyrouth 1974.
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4. *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, with maps and numerous illustrations, by M. Hamidullah, Woking, 1953. Revised edition, Hyderabad-Deccan 1973. Turkish and Malayalam translations are available.
5. *Muhammad Rasulullah* (in English), by M. Hamidullah, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1974. (One unauthorized edition is known.) Turkish translation, by Salih Tug, (Resulullah Muhammed), Istanbul, 1973.

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# *Bismillah !*

## INTRODUCTION

### COMPILATION AND PRESERVATION OF THE HOLY PROPHET'S TRADITIONS.

#### Preliminary Remarks

§ 1. One prophet after another was sent by God with His message. But age after age, one never tired of showing the wilfulness of one's spirit and the frenzied quality of one's fratricidal tendencies. Time after time, man turned his back upon the Divine teachings revealed to the prophets, and proceeded even to work their annihilation. If the Books of Adam, Sheth, Enoch and Noah be considered as messages too remote, a Book even so late as that of Abraham, which finds definite mention in the Holy Qur'an (surah 87, verse 19), had to go the way of its predecessors and disappear from the world. The same spirit of subversion made man<sup>1</sup> profanate the Holy Thora (Pentateuch) of Moses and destroy the totality of its manuscripts. Parts of it were later reconstructed from memory, but after a while even these met the same fate.<sup>2</sup> Today the Pentateuch that is extant, is an attempt third made, to restore old memories.<sup>3</sup> And we know it only with its numerous lacunae and various internal difficulties. In later periods, whatever the Jewish doctors wrote under the titles of **Talmud Mishna** and **Haggadah**, was

---

1 cf. Babylonian attack under Nabukhadnassar (or Nebuchodrezzar).

2 Roman attacks under Antiochus, and later under Titus.

3. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* or any similar work, s.v. Bible.

so hemmed in by stringent stipulations and burdensome limitations that even the most zealous and pious found it hard to practise them fully. Hence it was that God's great compassion was roused again, and He in His immeasurable mercy sent down the prophet Jesus Christ with a message of love and leniency; but man in the ignobleness of his spirit would not let this apostle of God preach in peace even for a space of three or four years. The Prophet Jesus had to labour under a perpetual need of concealing himself and working only clandestinely, the rudeness of the people around rendering his task so difficult that he had no occasion either to have his **Gospel** dictated, or the opportunity to ensure that the tenets of his faith were taken down and codified by his disciples. Long after he had left this world, his disciples and disciples of disciples compiled their respective memoranda of his teachings, but each varied from the other in import and their contradictions bewildered the believer. These **Gospels** increased daily in number, (over seventy such are known, each and all having the same title Evangelium/Injil i.e. Gospel); and the textual variations<sup>1</sup> grew so disputatious that a way had to be sought out of the chaos. Somehow or other a selection was made of four.<sup>2</sup> These four authoritative

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1. Sometime back German scholars collected from all over the world the Greek MSS of the Gospels (since all other versions are translations from the Greek), and the result of the collation was "some two hundred thousand variants ..... (of which one eighth are important)" (Robert & Feuillet, *Introduction* ■ *la Bible*, 3rd ed. 1959, I, 111).

2. The assertion of the French historian Voltaire is probably a mischievous invention that once all the Gospels were collected on an altar of a church, then one shook them, those that fell were declared



Gospels resemble rather the works of the Sirah (or biographies of the Holy Prophet of Islam) than a divinely revealed Book (such as the Pentateuch or the Qur'an). In other words, the Companions of Jesus and their Successors made a collection of the memoirs of the life of their prophet, in which the prophet's words are incorporated only here and there. We do not require to judge their value here. As a passing remark, it may be pointed out that it is not the word of Jesus as recorded in the Gospel, but the decision of the Church that prevails in the Christian community.

§ 2. It was in circumstances such as these that divine selection had once again to be made of a people to ensure the preservation, safe-keeping and dissemination of the true Word of God. The people so chosen were the Arabs, who in the first instance charged themselves to preach Islam. These Arabs were men endowed with a temperament and a quality, unique in the history of races, as we shall presently detail.

### The Illiterate Arabs

§ 3. Various clans of the Semitic race inhabited the sandy desert constituting the sub-continent of Arabia. Except for those who lived along the coastal regions, these people were mostly nomadic of habits. Scarcity of water was the prime cause of the primitive state of their culture. At a time when the basis of intercontinental trade was mere barter of goods, and Arabia had neither agricultural resources nor other sources of natural wealth, the pace of cultural growth must evidently have been slow.

---

apocryphal and false, and those that remained on the altar were taken as canonical and trustworthy. (Cited by Ali Musa Raza Muhajir).

§ 4. As far as science was concerned, one stood in need of alphabet to codify and record it. In this respect, leaving the short vowels, which are not "written", their language had 28 sounds or consonants, in the dialect spoken at Mecca. (There were different scripts in different parts of Arabia, as archaeology has proved, but thanks to Islam, the Meccan alphabet prevailed in the long run). According to Arab historians, it was shortly before Islam that some people of Hirah (now Kufah) introduced the "secret" or the "luxury" of writing in Mecca.<sup>1</sup> Matrimonial relations are described as the contributive cause. Be that as it may, before the advent of Islam, this Arabic writing was in an extremely crude state. Apart from other defects, it had neither the short vowels — now distinguished by diacritical signs, *i'rab* — nor even an independent shape for each and every letter of the alphabet: for its 28 letters, they seem to have had only 15 graphic signs. There was no distinction made between such letters, particularly in the smaller form

(ب، ق، ث، ز، ي) (ج، ح، خ) (د، ذ) (ر، ز) (س، ش)  
(ص، ض) (ط، ظ) (ع، غ) (ف، ق)

(One reason is that the Arabic tongue had more sounds than the old Hiran language. But this question need not detain us here.)

§ 5. In these circumstances, reading was an act done at random or by guess-work, and the richness of the vocabulary was a source of great worry in respect of the decipherment. For instance, if one were to take a word of three letters, each of which taken from the first of the above-mentioned

groups (Viz. (ي، ن، ث، ت، ب) and if they are undotted ( : ب ), there are theore-

1. Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, p. 471-2; Ibn` Abi Dawud, *Kitab al-Masahif*, p. 4-5,

tically 125 possible words, provided they are distinguished by means of the dots that are now used for the purpose. But since the last two letters of

the word we have selected can only be ب، ت

and ث، and never ی، ن، there remain never-

theless 75 possible words, like بیت، ثبت، یت

etc. And each of these can be vocalized in over a hundred ways by means of the alternate use, on different letters, of the diacritical signs, that is:

ـَ ـُ ـِ ـِـ ـِـ ـِـ ـِـ ـِـ

ـَـ ـُـ ـِـ ـِـ ـِـ ـِـ ـِـ

and this in spite of

the restrictions on the use of these signs; (for

instance ـَـ ـُـ ـِـ can never be employed on

the first letter of the word, the last three of these

the **tanwin** or "nunation" can also not be used on

the middle letter but only on the last one, with

further limitations on the use of the tanwin "-an").

Thus according to punctuation and vocalization, the

ambiguous ب may be pronounced in at least

$75 \times 100 = 7500$  ways. It goes without saying that

all these possible words do not exist in dictionaries,

nevertheless several of them do come immediately

to the mind, such as:

بیت		baitun (a house), baitin (of a house), baiyata (he launched a night attack), buiyita (he was victim of a night attack),
-----	--	---

آبیت		tabbat (she has or they have perished, or let her or they be perished).
------	--	--

آبث		baththat (she or they dispersed).
-----	--	-----------------------------------

بنت		bintun (a daughter), bintin (of a daughter), banat (she or they built).
-----	--	--

ثبت	thabtun (a document), thabtin (of a document), thabbata (he fixed), thubbata (he was fixed).
نبت	nabtun (a plant), nabtin (of a plant), nabata (it shot out, that is, a plant), nubita (it was extracted),

etc. Even in the word **فيل** (Where instead of 75, there are only 10 possibilities of pronunciation, (viz.

(**قيل**, **قنل**, **قئل**, **قتل**, **قيل**, **فيل**, **فئل**, **فتل**, **فيل**) even

the beginners of Arabic know that **فيل** (fil) means

elephant, **فتل** (fatl) is rope-wearing, **قيل** (qabl)

means before, **قيل** (qubul) is private organ, **قيل**

(qabbala) means he has kissed, **قتل** (qatala) means

he has killed, without taking into consideration the derivative forms: active, passive, transitive, intransitive, substantive etc. If the word is not properly distinguished by diacritical points, and not vocalized by diacritical signs, the reader remains perplexed, since sometimes several of the alternative possibilities give a sense in the context. Another curiosity, pointed out by al-Qalqashandi, is a word where the same letter could be repeated five times, as in the phrase:

ما رأينا كككا ككككك

(maa ra'ainaa kukakan kakukakika), i.e. "we have not seen boats like thy boats" kukka = boat, kukak is its plural, where the prefix ka- means like, and the suffix -ka means thy.

§ 6. There were other impediments also in the way of language development. Bedounism with its traditional instability, constant wandering, and the hardships encountered in seeking a means of livelihood, hardly left time for the people to take to letters; and even if there had been an inclination to learn, there was no literary source, worth the name, which

the people could devote themselves to, (poems excepted, which were transmitted orally). The fact is, that the need for such a venture was not felt. Even in a large town like Mecca, where commerce flourished and traders required to consign to writing a memorandum of their transactions on credit, there were no more than fifteen or twenty persons who knew to read and write.<sup>1</sup> The following will illustrate the position in Arabia in general:

§ 7. It was about the year 7 H./628 that the Holy Prophet sent a note calling on the inhabitants of a big and important place called Juwatha (modern al-Hufuf, East Arabia, in the modern province of (al-Ahsa) to embrace the faith. But in the whole region not a single man could be found to read the note. They waited until by chance a boy was with difficulty traced who could decipher the epistle.<sup>2</sup>

§ 8. About this time or a little later, an-Namir ibn Taulab embraced Islam. A man of prominence and a poet of fame, he enjoyed the distinction of hailing from a centre of advanced culture. He was appointed chief of his tribe, 'Ukl (in Yemen), and was granted a charter in writing by the Holy Prophet. Namir could not read it. So he carried this document to the market place in Medinah and asked the people. "If there be one amongst you who knows reading, let him read out this letter to me."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 471.2 who even names these seventeen individuals. Writing having been introduced in the time of the father of Abu Sufyan, (this latter being a contemporary of the Prophet), this could have been so at the birth of the Prophet. However one need not take it too literally.

2. cf. my *al-Watha 'iq as-Siyasiyah*, N 77.

3. *ibid.* No. 233.



## Progress of Education among the Arabs after the Advent of Islam.

§ 9. It was not surprising that under circumstances such as these, the people of Arabia did not seem inclined towards the acquisition of learning in the pre-Islamic times. What however is surprising is that the period intervening between the days of dark ignorance and the later blazing forth into splendour of the Islamic arts and literature, was the shortest that history has ever recorded. No analogy of such a sudden transition from darkness to light could ever be found in any previous age. It is said that at the time of the advent of Islam, there were no more than 17 persons in the city of Mecca who knew how to read or write, and as regards the city of Medinah the number of those who knew the art was even smaller, as we have just mentioned. Such was the state of illiteracy from which there emerged the Arabic language, which as early as the 2nd century of the Hijrah was counted as one of the richest languages of the world in matter of the sciences. How did this come about? The history of the miracle that was thus wrought has still to be narrated.

§ 10. The Islamic State was founded in 1 H./622, when the Prophet of Islam migrated to and settled in Medinah. At that time, the Muslim colony covered but a few parts of this small town; the rest of it was either in the possession of the Jews or such Arabs as had not yet embraced Islam. Arabia was, at that time, inhabited by hundreds of tribes, and each tribe enjoyed the status of an absolutely independent State. Until a new philosophy of life and a new purposeful faith should have been born in this vortex of independent and constantly warring chieftainships, and a new central administration should have been set up, no progress of any kind was possible. But such an accomplishment was

by no means easy. Arabia has an area of about 2 million square miles. Even as late as the end of 6 H./627, when a truce was concluded between the Muslims and the Meccans at Hudaibiyah, the Islamic State extended over only a few hundred square miles.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter however within the span of five small years, at the time of the death of the Holy Prophet in 11 H./632, it had spread over an area as large as Europe minus Russia, and covered all Arabia and the southern parts of Iraq and Palestine. Fifteen more years spun their way, when during the caliphate of 'Uthman about 27 H./647, according to Tabari, Islam penetrated into Andalusia<sup>2</sup> (in Spain) on the one hand, and according to Baladhuri, crossed the river Oxus (Jaihun)<sup>3</sup> on the other, and reached the dominions of China. It ruled over three continents and maintained a continuous line of communications. (The expedition of Transoxiana is confirmed also by Chinese sources.<sup>4</sup> As regards the Southern frontier, this Islamic State had during the caliphate of 'Umar extended to as far as Thana (Bombay, or Guj. rat), and Daibul<sup>5</sup> (Thatta, near Karachi); and towards the North, to Armenia and beyond.<sup>6</sup>

§ 11. It may be noted that the Arabs of the time could vie neither in number nor in armaments and equipment with their opponents. It would have been considered unseemly at the time to speak of them in the same breath as the Eastern Romans (Byzantines) or the Iranians with whom they came

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1. cf my **Le Prophete de l'Islam**, (chap. frontiers), p. 433-5 (§ 1071); and for map, my **Rasul-e-Akram ki Siyasi Zindagi**, p. 115, et seq.
  2. Tabari, **Ta'rikh**, I, 2817; Gibbon, **Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire**, (Oxford Univ. Press), V. 555.
  3. Baladhuri, **Futuh**, p. 408.
  4. Barthold, **Turkestan** (English ed.), p. 6.
  5. Baladhuri, **Futuh**, p. 432.
  6. Tabari, **Ta'rikh**, events of the year 19 H.

in contact, and who in the art of warfare had reached a height of perfection, unknown to, and undreamt of, by the Bedouins converted to Islam. What then was the secret of their phenomenal success? It lay above all in the fact that the Muslim Arabs had not left their homes and tents in search of booty or plunder — as they used to do in the pre-Islamic days — but with the sole aim that the name of God alone should prevail. The results achieved were the immediate consequence of their innate capacities and the salutary training received from Islam. For them, conquest by the sword in the field of battle, or by the pen on the pages of the history of sciences, were dual aspects of one single reality and the throbbing expression of the one same urge. Writers, consumed by antipathy, who have wilfully ignored recognizing Muslim achievements in the field of letters, would certainly have wrought the same minimization in respect of the territorial expansion of Islam, if their own possessions had not been occupied by the lightning expeditions of Muslims.

§ 12. We are not concerned at present, however, with the gains of battle — the surgical operations, so to say, on the sick body of humanity; — we shall content ourselves with a brief survey of the training of mind, that is the literary achievements and the intellectual feats of the Arabs of the period.

### **The Educational Policy of the Prophet of Islam**

§ 13. It is well-known that the Prophet of Islam was illiterate. The Holy Qur'an testifies that he knew neither reading nor writing:

"And before this, thou didst not recite (O Muhammad) a book, nor transcribe it with thy right hand, for then might those have doubted, who talk vanities". (Quran, 29: 48).

How pathetic, meaningful and inspiring is the fact that the very first Divine revelation that came to this illiterate Prophet, commanded reading and writing:

"Read with the name of thy Lord who createth  
Createth man from a clot.<sup>1</sup>

Read, And thy Lord is the most bounteous  
Who teacheth by the pen

Teacheth man that which he knew not."

(Qur'an, 96:1-5).

The word *iqra'* in the above quotation, could mean only reading, and not the bearing of a message (as it means in the idiom *yuqri'uk as-salam*, he makes read, i.e., sends you his compliments); for, in the context, the Pen is praised as a means of education. Thus the first Divine command that the illiterate Prophet

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1. The Arabic word '**alaq** is normally rendered as "clot". It may as well be translated "something that hangs", and would be conform to modern knowledge of embryology and gynaecology. In fact the human child is the issue of the fecundation of the female ovule by the male spermatozoon which penetrates the ovule and it is the mixture (**nutfatin amshaaj**) which forms the "eggs". Unlike birds' egg, which is expelled by the female bird in due course, the human "egg" hangs in the cavity of the uterus and has prolongations which like the roots of a plant procure the necessary food for the foetus, (cf Maurice Bucaille, **La Bible, le Coran et la science**, Paris 1976, p. 204). The same word '**alaqa** ('**alaq** being its plural form) means a leech also, and the etymological analogy is not far to seek, for the spermatozoon that hangs sucks the blood of the mother (pregnant woman) continuously in order to live and develop into a child. It is significant that leech is one of those rare animals — as are most of the plants — that have no difference of male and female members but reproduce by autofecundation. This may throw a light on God's creation of Eve from Adam.

brought to the people and which he insisted on all through his life-time to be put to the best of practices, was concerned with the acquisition of learning.<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the Prophet of Islam, the Holy Qur'an testifies:

"He it is Who hath sent among the unlettered ones a messenger of their own, to recite unto them His signs, and to make them grow in purity, and to teach them the Book and the Wisdom, though theretofore they were indeed in error manifest." (Q. 62:2)

Further, it was the Prophet himself who arranged that the verses and chapters of the Qur'an revealed to him gradually and progressively should be immediately set down in writing. In addition to his vocation, which was to preach purity of morals and to educate the intellect, the transcription of the Divine commandments that were revealed to him received from him a great measure of attention.

§ 14. Despite all his efforts, his countrymen turned, in general, a deaf ear to his teachings, and inflicted on him and the companions, who followed him in the path of God, tortures of every description, subjecting them to every kind of persecution.<sup>2</sup>

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1. It is possible that in obedience to the Divine direction regarding education, the Holy Prophet learnt some reading and writing. In fact, describing a well-known episode during the negotiations for the truce of al-Hudaibiyah, when the formula "Muhammad messenger of God" had to be changed into "Muhammad son of Abdullah", and the Muslim scribe refused to do that, and the Prophet did it himself, al-Bukhari has this rather vague sentence: 'He did that himself, though he did not know writing لا يحسن يكتب well,' (Bukhari 64/4<sup>1</sup>, K. maghazi, ch. 'umrat al-qada; Suhaili, *Raud al-Unuf*, II, 230).

2. Even at a time of such gravity, when some people of Medinah embraced Islam, a teacher (Mus'ab ibn 'Umair, known as 'Muqri' or reader) was sent to instruct them in  
(Continued on next page)



When things reached a head, those who could flee, left their home and property and went to Medinah, and so did at last the Prophet himself. In that city, he started laying the foundation of a political organisation and giving it due shape. He promulgated a written-constitution — the first of its kind in the world — and inaugurated a city-state.<sup>1</sup> The first **Surat** revealed after the migration to Medinah was the **Surat al-Baqarah**, and one feels astonished to find there, at so early a date, the order making it obligatory to reduce to writing, every transaction on credit:

“O ye who believe! When ye contract a debt for a fixed term, record it in writing ..... and call to witness, from among your men, two witnesses; and if two men be not at hand then a man and two women, of such as ye ap-

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(Continued from the previous page)

Qur'an, law and theology. This relates to the pre-migration period. (cf. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p 289-90) Al-Bukhari also reports, on the authority of Bara (the Companion of the Prophet), that Mus'ab ibn 'Umair and Ibn Umm Maktum, who were the first to arrive in Medinah, began instructing the people in the Qur'an. (Bukhari, 65, K Tafsir, Surat 87 *sabbihisma*).

1. For Arabic text, English translation and discussion see my book *First Written-Constitution in the World*, 3rd ed. Lahore 1975. See also my French “*Le Prophete de l'Islam*”, 2nd ed., § 341-358. No doubt States have existed in the world long before Islam, but a Constitution promulgated by its sovereign and ruling authority is met with neither in Greece nor Rome, China, India, Babylonia or elsewhere. In this sense the Shu-King of Confucius, Artha-Sastra of Kautilya and Constitution of Athens by Aristotle are no constitutions at all. The practice of tyrannical rulers described in written form by the prophet Samuel (and mentioned in the Bible I Samuel, VIII, 11-18, X, 25) can also not be considered as a constitution, the text being more ironical than a serious law.

prove as witnesses ..... and be not averse to writing down this (contract) whether it be small or great, with (record of) the term thereof; this is more equitable in the sight of God and more sure for testimony, and the best way of avoiding doubt between you .....” (Qur'an, II, 282).

The revelation of this verse must naturally have led to increased attention being paid to the acquisition of letters.

§ 15. The Hadith also contains orders regarding the obligation of writing. The Holy Prophet has said: “Should any Muslim possess property fit for testamentary will, it would not be proper for him to pass even three nights without having a written will with him.”<sup>2</sup>

§ 16. We have just referred to the defects of the Arabic script in those days. There is reason to believe that the Holy Prophet paid attention to the matter in connection with the writing out of the Qur'an. In fact, a report attributes to the Holy Prophet himself the method of *raqsh*,<sup>3</sup> for distinguish-

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2. Bukhari, Sahih, 55 : 1, No. 7 (Kitab wasaya, Bab wasaya); Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqat, IV/i, p. 108.

3. Suyuti, Tadrib ar-Rawi, (Cairo 1307), p. 152: “And it is necessary to define precisely the ambiguous letters (of the alphabet) also. Bulqini says: One may cite in support what Marzubani and Ibn 'Asakir have reported on the authority of 'Ubaid ibn Aws al-Ghassani, who says: I was sitting writing for the caliph Mu'awiyah. This latter told me: 'Put dots (raqsh) on thy writing, for (once) I was writing for the Messenger of God, and he told me: Put dots on thy writing.' I (= 'Ubaid) said: What does putting dots mean, O Commander of the Faithful? He said: Give to each letter dots, when the occasion of difficulty (ambiguity) requires.”

ing between letters having similar shapes. This report unfortunately does not give details, but **raqsh** literally means 'putting dots'. Inscriptions have been discovered of the time of caliph Mu'awiyah,<sup>1</sup> and even papyrus of the time of the caliph 'Umar (dated 22 H./643)<sup>2</sup> employing **raqsh**, which facts strengthen the report regarding the usage of the time of the Prophet, which is earlier only by a dozen years.

### Organization of General Education

§ 17. After arrival at the city of Medinah, the first task undertaken by the Prophet was the construction of what is now called the Prophet's Mosque (Masjid Nabawi). In one part of this building was erected a thatched platform (**Suffah**). This was the first residential university of Islam. At night, the students

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This same report is cited — as Prof. Subhi as-Salih of Damascus (now of Beyrouth) kindly informs me — by an earlier and more trustworthy author also, namely by al-Khatib al-Baghdadi in his *al-Jami' li-Akhlaq ar-Rawi wa Adab as-sami'* (MS Alexandria Municipal Library N° 3711/c), in its third part, under the section "*Taqyid al-Asma' bi'sh-Shakl wa'l-I'jam*". The impression is confirmed that the **raqsh** method was known in the time of the Holy Prophet himself.

1. George C. Miles, Early Islamic Inscriptions near Ta'if in the Hijaz (in: J. of Near Eastern Studies, Oct., 1948, cf. p. 240).

2. Adolf Grohmann, *From the world of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo, 1952) p. 82: "Although it was believed for a certain time according to the statements by Arab writers that the invention of the so-called diacritical dots did not take place before the second half of the first century of the Hijrah ... it is a fact that already the oldest papyrus documents dated 22 A. H. (643 A. D.), Papyrus Erzherzog Reiner, Fuehrer durch die Ausstellung, Wien 1894, No. 558 shows diacritical

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slept there, and during the day, the teachers appointed for the purpose taught them there letters and instructed them in the tenets of religion, etc. 'Abdullah ibn Sa'id ibn al-'As was one such instructor in the art of writing. He was a calligraphist, and had become known even during the pre-Islamic days of Ignorance as a "katib" (the scribe).<sup>3</sup> 'Ubadah ibn as-Samit reports that he was appointed by the Holy Prophet to teach at Suffah the art of writing, as also imparting knowledge of the Qur'an.<sup>4</sup>

§ 18. The largeness of the number of those who attended the school of the Suffah may be gauged by the fact that some authors have spoken of four hundred students of the Suffah. It is possible that this refers to the daily attendance at one moment or other, for according to Ibn Hanbal,<sup>5</sup> even the resident students numbered sometimes 70 to 80; the non-resident, day scholars must have numbered more. Sometimes the number of boarders shot up temporarily, when foreign visitors came to Medinah. Such is the report made of about 80 members of the tribe of Tamim, who stayed in town for some time

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dots above the letters "ن" and "ش، ز، ذ، خ". (For text and translation of this half Arabic half Greek papyrus, see p. 113-4 of the same book.) See also Grohmann, *Zum Problem der Datierung aeltesten Koranhandschriften*, (in the Proceedings of 24th International Congress of Orientalists, Munich, 1957, pp. 271-274; and the same, *The Problem of Dating Early Qur'ans* (in *Der Islam*, XXXIII, 1958, pp. 213-231).

3. Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah*, III, 175; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'ab*, No. 1627; Ibn Hajar, *Isa'bah*, No. 1769. His name in pre-Islamic days was al-Hakam, and the Holy Prophet conferred on him the name of Abdullah.

4. 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattani, *at-Taratib al-Idariyah*, I, 48, citing Abu Dawud.

5. Musnad, III, 371.

studying Islam.<sup>1</sup> The biographers<sup>2</sup> of the generous Ansarite Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah, mention that he feasted as many as 80 boarders of the Suffah during a single night.

§ 19. There are reports that another residential school, called Dar al-Qurra', existed in 2 H./623 at Medinah, in the house of Makhramah ibn Naufal.<sup>3</sup>

§ 20. Hardly a year had passed after the Hijrah of the Prophet, when in the month of Ramadan, there took place the battle of Badr, in which the foe outnumbered the Muslims by three to one.<sup>4</sup> The victory went nevertheless to the Muslims, and in their hands fell a large number of captives. The treatment that was meted out to these prisoners of war is one of the most wonderful occurrences in history. The ransom fixed for the prisoners was that those who knew to read and write should each teach ten Muslim boys, the art<sup>5</sup> What else could have been expected of an apostle and messenger of God, who styled himself in the same breath "I am the prophet of battle and I am the prophet of mercy",<sup>6</sup> and also "I am the abode of learning".<sup>7</sup> Some discerning tra-

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1. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'ab*, No. 1947 (§ 'Amr ibn al-Ahtamm.)
  2. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib at-Tahdhib* III 475 No. 883.
  3. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat* IV/i p. 150; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'ab*, No. 1441 (§ 'Abdullah ibn Umm Maktum).
  4. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 436 and 506; Tabari, *Ta'rikh* I 1298 and 1304.
  5. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat* II/i p. 14; Suhaili *Raud al-Unuf* II 92; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad* No. 2216 (or I, 247) where the teacher vindictively beats his pupil; Abu 'Ubaid, *Amwal*, § 309 (p. 115-6); etc.
  6. Ibn Taimiyah, *as-Siyasah ash-Shar'iyah*, p. 8; Tabari, *Ta'rikh* I 1788; al-Mawardi *al-Ahkam as-Sultaniyah*, ch. iv.
  7. Even if these words cannot be traced in authentic Hadith, nobody contests the sense (cf. however Tirmidhi ch. 46, "manaqib 'Ali').

ditionists have described this incident under the eloquent heading "Sanction accorded to the appointment of pagans as teachers of Muslims". This was not a mere accident, but the first step towards the implementation of a vast plan for the dissemination of knowledge.

§ 21. The Holy Prophet used to declare: "I have been sent in the capacity of a teacher".<sup>8</sup> He used, as often, to direct the children to acquire learning from their neighbours,<sup>1</sup> and take their lessons at the mosque in their street.<sup>2</sup> The historian al-Baladhuri<sup>3</sup> has recorded that in the time of the Prophet, there were nine mosques in Medinah, adding that there the people used to say their daily prayers but on Friday, they used to congregate at the Prophet's Mosque (Masjid Nabawi). Historians relate that the people of Juwatha (in the modern al-Hufuf of the province al-Ahsa) built a mosque, which was the first cathedral mosque (for Friday prayer, *masjid jami'*) next to the grand mosque of Medinah.<sup>4</sup> We read in a state document the direction of the Prophet given to the people of this town: "Construct mosques in such and such places" — and according to another transmission of the same tradition: construct mosques and do such and such works, — "otherwise I shall wage war against you"<sup>5</sup> In this mosque of Juwatha also a school must naturally have been established. When I visited this place, in the suburbs of al-Hufuf, in 1975, the Saudi Department of archaeology had excavated its imposing ruins, and people thronged there for prayer and benediction.

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8. Ibn Majah, No. 229 (*Muqaddimah* ch. Fadl al-'ulama'); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Mukhtasar Bayan al-'Ilm* p. 15; *Mishkat*, in loco citing Darimi.

1. Ibn Hajar, *Isabah*, Vol. I, No. 17 (§ Abza al-Khuza'i).

2. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr *Mukhtasar Bayan al-'Ilm*, p. 14.

3. *Ansab al-Ashraf*, (ed. Cairo 1959) I § 638.

4. Bukhari 11: 11 (K. al-Jumu'ah bab al-jumu'ah fi'l-qura)

5. cf. my *al-Watha'iq as-Siyasiyah*, No. 77.



§ 22. When 'Amr ibn Hazm was despatched as governor of Yemen, he was given written instructions, which covered not only administrative matters, but also orders for the imparting of education.<sup>6</sup>

§ 23. The historian Tabari, in the account of the year 11 H./633, has recorded that the Holy Prophet appointed Mu'adh ibn Jabal as inspector of schools, and sent him to Yemen, where he toured from district to district and organized and supervised schools.<sup>7</sup>

§ 24. This educational policy extended to women as well as men. According to the **Sirah Ibn Is'haq** (ed. Rabat, § 192), the Prophet had the habitude even before his migration to Medinah, that "whenever a portion of the Holy Qur'an was revealed to him, he recited it first in the assembly of men, and then in the assembly of women". This attention to female education naturally increased in the course of time, especially in Medinah. The Holy Prophet had set apart one day in the week for the education of women.<sup>8</sup> A Hadith reported by Ma'mar<sup>9</sup>, Abu Dawud<sup>10</sup> and others<sup>11</sup> relates how Hafsah (wife of the Prophet), with the permission of the Prophet, learnt writing from a lady relative Shifa' daughter of 'Abdullah, who seems to have learnt the art even before Islam.<sup>1</sup> It is superfluous here to go further into details. It would be sufficient to state that it was owing to this attention paid to female education that in later times, women vied with men in various

6. cf. my **al-Watha'iq as-Siyasiyah**, No. 105 citing Ibn Hisham, Tabari etc.

7. Tabari, **Ta'rikh**, I 1852-3 1981.

8. Bukhari, 3:45 (K. 'Ilm B. Hal yaj'al li'n-nisa' yauman).

9. The **Jami'** of Ma'mar has been published along with **al-Musannaf** of 'Abdur-Razzaq, see Vol. XI hadith No. 19768.

10. Abu Dawud, **Sunan** K. Tibb. B. Ruqi.

11. Al-Hakim, **Mustadrak**, IV, 56-57; Zamakhshari, **Fa'iq** in loco; Baladhuri, **Futuh**, note on page 472.

1. Baladhuri, **Futuh al-Buldan**, p. 472.

branches of learning. In the Damascus Manuscript of the **Sahifah** of Hammam, to which these lines serve as an introduction, there is mention made of a lady teacher, who for a certain generation served as the transmitter of this work. This is testified by the certificate of hearing endorsed on the MS. (See certificate No. 5, at the end of this work). This lady, Umm al-Fadl Karimah, (daughter of Abu'l-Firas Najumuddin) al-Qurashiyah az-Zubairiyah, maintained a school of Hadith in her house. Another remarkable instance is the **Kitab al-Amwal** (treatise on public taxation) of Abu 'Ubaid Qasim ibn Sallam (d. 224 H./838), which deals with the technical problems of state finance, and after the usual **Bismillah**, begins with the following words:

"Certified to have been read in the presence of the good and pious **katibah** (? author, calligraphist), shaikhah (professor) Fakhru'n-Nisa' Shuhdah, daughter of the needle-maker Abu Nasr Ahmad ibn al-Faraj ibn 'Umar ad-Dinawari, at her house in Baghdad".<sup>2</sup>

If detailed information is desired about the progress made by women in education in the early centuries of Islam, one may refer to books of Hadith and works dealing with the biographies of the professors of Hadith. These describe a great number of women, who rendered yeoman service to education, during the time of the Companions of the Prophet and their successors (**tabi'un**) and the successors of these.

### The Scribes Attendant on the Holy Prophet

§ 25. During the Medinah period of the life of the Prophet, the work of transcribing letters and carrying on official correspondence was daily on the increase, due to the exigencies of State administration and other political needs. The necessity arose

2. **Kitab al-Amwal**, (ed. Cairo, 1353 H). p. 3.

therefore of employing scribes and amanuenses in ever increasing number in order to cope adequately with these heavy duties. There was now a larger number of replies to be despatched with promptness and speed, to the letters and queries received from the district officials, as also timely instructions to be sent out from the Centre in every direction. If even on such a secret and critical occasion as the Hijrah to Medinah, there was pen, paper or other writing material and ink carried with the Prophet, as is evidenced by the letter of immunity that was transcribed and granted to Suraqah ibn Malik,<sup>1</sup> it was no wonder that in later times the number of scribes largely increased and that a regular secretarial department had to devote itself exclusively to the task of the official correspondence of the Holy Prophet. Historians have frequently filled whole chapters giving lists and details of the Secretarial Staff.<sup>2</sup> Some have even produced monographs dealing exclusively with this subject.<sup>3</sup> There are forty-three names of Companions, mentioned in this particular context, who either permanently or occasionally were engaged in this task. No wonder that some were specifically employed in transcribing only the Qur'anic revelations newly received, some in preparing drafts of official letters to be submitted for the approval of the Prophet, some in compiling accounts of Zakat-tax and other state revenues, some in the registration and disbursement of objects acquired in the shape of booty and war spoils; some used to take care only of foreign correspondence such as that which concerned foreign rulers and chiefs of tribes; some had to draw up estimates (*khars*) of crops before harvesting, as has been described in detail by the historian al-

1. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 332.

2. Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf* (ed. Cairo 1959), I, § 1069; al-Mas'udi, *at-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf*, p. 282-3; al-Jihshiyari, *K. al-Wuzara'*, in loco; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, in loco; etc.

3. For details, cf. al-Kattani, *at-Taratib al-Idariyah* I, 116-24.

Mas'udi.<sup>4</sup> We also know that Zaid ibn Thabit had, in obedience to the orders of the Holy Prophet, acquired knowledge of the Hebrew language and script,<sup>5</sup> since the Jews of Arabia, although speaking the Arabic language, used to write it in Hebrew script, which they employed in their correspondence with the Prophet as well as in their treaties and agreements with him. It may be stated also, on the authority of al-Mas'udi,<sup>6</sup> that Zaid ibn Thabit also knew the Greek, Persian, Coptic and Abyssinian languages and performed the duties of an interpreter for the Holy Prophet. It may be pointed out that two letters attributed to the Holy Prophet and written in Arabic language but in non-Arabic script have come to light. One is the treaty of peace concluded with Khaibar, and is in Hebrew script; the other is the letter addressed to certain chieftains in Yemen, and this is in the **musnad** (Yemenite) script. Neither of the two bears the mark of the seal although the chancellery of the Prophet disposed of it and employed it at that time. One may conclude that these documents although very old, are not the originals but copies prepared by Khaibarians and Yemenites respectively for their own current needs. Of the two, the treaty of Khaibar is, in our opinion, a faked document (and I have spoken of it in detail in my French work "**Documents sur la Diplomatie musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des Khalifes Orthodoxes**" and also in "**Le Prophète de l'Islam, sa vie et son oeuvre**"; and to a certain extent also in my Urdu book رسول اکرم کی سیاسی زندگی (**Rasul-e-Akram Ki Siyasi Zindagi**)). There are in the document numerous anachronisms and other impossibilities. As to the Yemenite document, its text is perfectly identical with the one cited by Ibn Hisham, **Sirat**

4. Mas'udi, **Tanbih**, p. 282-3.

5. Ibn Abi Dawud, **K. al-Masahif**, p. 3; Dhahabi, **Tadhkirat al-Huffaz**, I, 29-30. Ibn Kathir, **al-Bidayah**, VIII, 29.

6. Mas'udi, **Tanbih** p. 283. Ibn Kathir **al-Bidayah**, VIII 29

**rasulillah**, and other sources; and Prof. Cohen of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne, Paris, is engaged on its study, and may publish an article for instance in the *Journal Asiatique*. Paris.

### The Official Seal

§ 26. From about the end of the year 6 H./628. the use of a seal on letters of official import could also be traced. In the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari<sup>7</sup> there is a narration to the effect that when the Prophet thought of sending letters to foreign rulers with a view to inviting them to the Faith he was told that those rulers took into account only letters on which seals were affixed. In view of this practice, the Prophet ordered a silver ring to be made, with an engraved semi-precious stone. The narrator Anas ibn Malik used to say in later times: "I see its whiteness even now in the hand of the Prophet", and that "the words engraved on it were 'Muhammad messenger of God'," and that "the setting of the ring was the Abyssinian red 'aqiq stone."

### The Compilation of Hadith

§ 27. Mention has so far been made of but a few of the numerous instances descriptive of the results of the general policy formulated by the Holy Prophet in educational matters.<sup>1</sup> But we are mainly concerned at present with the question of the compilation of the Hadith. The term Hadith covers not only the sayings of the Holy Prophet, but also his actions as well as what he tolerated among his companions. By toleration we mean the seeing by the Prophet of a thing being done by a Companion of his and keeping silent over the deed or even explicitly approving it. Each of these three categories finds a place in the books of Hadith. The matter now

7. Bukhari, 77:50 (K. Libas, B. Naqsh al-Khatam).

1. cf. my article 'Educational System in the Time of the Prophet', in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad-Deccan), January, 1939, p. 48-59, and also my *Le Prophete de l'Islam*, p. 465-517 (§ 1125-1350).

to be considered is: When did these begin to be first compiled in writing, to what extent might an unbiased person place his reliance on books of Hadith? It is to be noted that the *Sahifah of Hammam*, herewith presented, is one such compilation.

§ 28. It is obvious that it would have been impossible to write down everything that the Holy Prophet spoke, did or tolerated. Such a complete record would have necessitated superhuman effort and called for angelic agencies: "Lo! there are above you guardians, generous and recording, who know all that ye do", — as the Qur'an affirms.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, any sceptic statement to the effect, that nothing at all was written down during the life time of the Holy Prophet, would be stretching suspicion to the bounds of absurdity. The facts are totally different, as we shall see presently. It cannot be controverted that what the members of the "Unlettered Community" of early Muslims have recorded of the Hadith of the Holy Prophet, on the basis of what they had seen with their eyes or heard by their ears, is far more voluminous than what men of other faiths have recorded of their apostles or founders of religions during their life time. This is as uncontestable as the other fact that even at the very beginning the conquests of lands by the Muslims, or the results of their peaceful preaching, of the faith among the masses have been far more glorious than the achievements of other communities in similar matters. In order to be convinced of this, one would require neither to be credulous and partial, nor experience any harm whatever if like a true seeker after truth, one should begin the investigation with a "I do not know", and to resolve to admit nothing except what is irrefutably established.

§ 29. We have already referred to the mi-

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2. Qur'an, 82: 10-12.



serably poor quality of the Arabic script and the insignificant number of literate Arabs before Islam. When the Holy Prophet commanded his followers to "learn and teach", it was a challenge extended to men who although illiterate in general were yet sincere of purpose and diligent in action. We shall see how wonderfully they acquitted themselves of the task imposed on them.

### **Hadith Written down Officially during the Time of the Holy Prophet**

§ 30. (a) **Constitution**: After the Muslims of Mecca migrated to Medinah, they laid there the foundations of a Government and a City-State. The Holy Prophet called for consultation all the inhabitants of the place, Meccan immigrants, Medinan converts, Jews and the Arabs who had not yet embraced Islam, and promulgated a State constitution. This is the first written-constitution of any state in the history of the world, as we have pointed out above.<sup>1</sup> It contains details of the rights and duties of both the ruler and the ruled. It begins thus:

§ 1. This is a writing of the prophet Muhammad, messenger of God, which is (effective) between the Believers and the Muslims of the Quraishite origin and of Yathrib town and those who follow them (the Muslims), come and join them and partake with them in war.

§ 2. Verily these form a definite **Ummat** (nation), distinct from all other peoples (of the world).....etc."

The words "this is a writing (**kitab**)" used here, can apply to a written document only. In the course of the 47 sections of this constitutional law, the words "the people of this document (**sahifah**)" are re-

1. cf. supra § 14 and note. See in general my book **First Written-Constitution in the World**, ed. Lahore

peated five times.<sup>1</sup> There is also the statement: "This writing (*kitab*) shall not shield any oppressor or sinner".<sup>2</sup> It lays down also: "The plain (*jauf*) of Yathrib constitutes a sanctuary for the people of this Document (*sahifah*)" <sup>3</sup>.

§ 31. Although the Constitution itself does not precisely define the limits and frontiers of this plain of Yathrib that was converted into a sanctuary, i.e., City-State, it appears that these frontiers were recorded in a separate document, perhaps as a bye-law. For Ibn Hanbal cites:<sup>4</sup>

"Rafi' ibn Khadij reports ..... that Medinah is a **haram** (sanctuary), which has been rendered **haram** by the Messenger of God, and this is written on a Khaulani (i.e., Yemenite) skin, that is with us."

§ 32. If from the political point of view, it was felt necessary to define the limits and area of the original City-State, it was also found obligatory from the practical point of view, to delimit these boundaries. Thus al-Matari<sup>5</sup> in his history of Medinah records:

"Ka'b ibn Malik reports: The Messenger of God — may God incline to him and preserve him — sent me to construct the boundary pillars (or marks) on the summits of the hills of Makhid, Hufaiya, Dhat al-Ushairah and Taim" (in the four directions of Medinah).

§ 33. (b) **Census**. Soon after the Hijrah (migration to Medinah), the Holy Prophet had a census

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1. cf. § 22, 37, 39, 42 and 46 (thrice in this last clause).

2. § 47.

3. § 39.

4. *Musnad*, IV, 141, No. 10.

5. *Ma'ansat al-Hijrah min Ma'alim Dar al-Hijrah* (MS. 'Arif Hikmat, at Medinah), ch. "Tahrim al-Madinah".

taken of the Muslims. Al-Bukhari<sup>6</sup> records a tradition that the Holy Prophet said:

"Write down for me the names of those who have subscribed to Islam. Accordingly we wrote down for him the names of one thousand and five hundred persons."

These seem to include men and women, young and old. It is precised in the report that this census had been put down in writing; and the figures lead us to believe that the event must have taken place in the year 1 H./622.

§ 34. (c) Letters-Patent. There is evidence to show that official documents, agreements and letters-patent on the part of the Prophet began even earlier than the Hijrah. It is reported<sup>1</sup> that prior to the Hijrah, Tamim ad-Dari was given Habrun, a township in Palestine, as a fief or land grant by means of a charter with the express provision: 'When by the grace of God that town should be conquered, it will be thine'.

§ 35. In the course of the Prophet's migration-travel to Medinah, Suraqah ibn Malik al-Mudliji was granted a deed of safe-conduct.<sup>2</sup> Again, in the year 1 H./622 there seems to have been concluded with the Juhainah tribe (north of Medinah), a pact of alliance and friendship, though the text is not traceable. For in the account of the expedition led by Hamzah, sent in the direction of Sif (near the sea-port of Yanbu'), Ibn Hisham and others write that Majdi ibn 'Amr al-Juhani interposed himself between the Muslims and the Quraishite pagans, in

6. Bukhari, 56: 181 (K. Jihad, B. Kitabat al-mam) cf. thereon the Turkish article of Tayyib Okic, "Islamiyette ilk nufus sayi" in *Ilahiyat Fakultesi Dergisi*, Ankara, 1958-9, VII, 11-20.

1. cf. al-Watha'iq as-Siyasiyah, No. 43, citing Halabi, Maqrizi, Qastallani, etc.

2. ibid, No. 2, citing Ibn Hisham, etc. cf. also supra § 25

his capacity of a sworn ally of both the parties (muwadi').<sup>3</sup> An agreement dating from 2 H./623, which was concluded with the Damrah tribe, has however been preserved. As-Suhaili records the copy of the text which begins:

"This is a writing of Muhammad, Messenger of God, for the Banu Damrah....."<sup>4</sup>

Such agreements continued to be concluded throughout the life-time of the Holy Prophet.<sup>5</sup> Some peculiar things happened too:

§ 36. In H./627, at the time of the battle of the Ditch (Khandaq), there was drawn up the draft of an agreement (murawadah) with the Fazarah and Ghatafan tribes. On not being ratified, it was scratched out.<sup>6</sup>

§ 37. The quarrel over the wording of the treaty of Hudaibiyah of 6 H./628 is well-known. The Holy Prophet had finally ordered some written words to be erased.<sup>7</sup>

§ 38. In regard to the battle of Tabuk (Northern Arabia, on Byzantine frontier) in 9 H./631, historians have recorded that when Ukaidir, ruler of Dumat al-Jandal, entered into a pact of submission,<sup>1</sup> the Holy Prophet sealed the document with his finger-nail (khatamahu bi-zufrihi).<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, it was an ancient custom obtaining amongst the people of Hirah (modern Kufah in Iraq), the country

3. Ibn Hisham, Sirah, p. 419.

4. Al-Watha'iq as-Siyasiyah, No. 159.

5. In the third edition of my al-Watha'iq, there are over 300 letters emanating from the Holy Prophet.

6. Al-Watha'iq, No. 8.

7. Bukhari 64 : 43 (K. Maghazi B. 'Umrat al-Qada); Ibn Hisham, Sirah, p. 747.

1. Al-Watha'iq, No. 190.

2. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqat, II/i.p. 120; Ibn Hajar, Isabah, and Ibn 'Asakir cited by al-Kattani, at-Taratib al-Idariyah, I, 179.

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of origin of Ukaidir, that they used to take impressions on documents, — baked bricks, in general — not of the thumb, but of the finger-nail. It produced a line of the shape of a crescent. In the archaeological excavations, pre-Christian documents of contracts have been discovered, carved on burnt bricks, bearing not only this sign, but also the clarification: "the finger-nail has been fixed by way of confirmation".<sup>3</sup>

§ 39. (d) **Letters of Proselytism.** The Holy Prophet sent letters inviting the Byzantine emperor, the Persian Chosroes, the Egyptian Muqauqis, the Abyssinian Negus and other rulers, to embrace Islam. Of these, the original letter addressed to Heraclius (of Byzantium) was preserved until very recently.<sup>4</sup> The original letters to Muqauqis, Negus and al-Mundhir ibn Sawa of Bahrain (modern al-Ahsa in East Arabia) exist even today and are well-known.<sup>5</sup> Ibn 'Asakir writes<sup>6</sup> that Abu'l-'Abbas 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad had purchased from the inhabitants of Ailah, for a sum of 300 gold coins, the original document of the pact entered into by them with the Holy Prophet. It is said about Chosroes of Iran, that he tore the letter, even before hearing it com-

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3. Oluf Krueckmann, *Neue babylonische Recht- und Verwaltungstexte* (Text 37, Tafel 38); Ch. Edward, *The Hammurabi Code*, p. 11; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, 178.

4. cf. my "La lettre du Prophete a Heraclius et le sort de l'original", in *Arabica*, Paris, 1955 p. 97-110. Recently it has reappeared, and is now in the royal possession at 'Amman/Jordania.

5. cf. for photos and discussions, my *Le Prophete de l'Islam*, § 516-524, 531-541, 574-587 bis, 612-627; 646-652. Partly also in *Islamic Culture*, October, 1939, p. 427-39, (some Arabic Inscriptions of Medinah of the Early years of Hijrah).

6. *Ta'rikh Dimashq* (ed. Munaited). I 420

pletely.<sup>7</sup> Of course all these were written documents.

§ 40. (e) **Correspondence with the Jews.** We have already referred to the fact that Zaid ibn Thabit the chief amanuensis of the Prophet, had learnt the Hebrew script under the orders of the Prophet.<sup>1</sup> Our sources<sup>2</sup> precise: "Zaid ibn Thabit had learnt the script of the Jews and used to read out to him the letters that the Messenger of God received even as he wrote those which the Messenger of God addressed to the Jews."

§ 41. (f) **Instruction to Governors, etc.** The needs and exigencies of administration required that the Holy Prophet should send, from time to time, to governors, cadis, tax-collectors and others, all over the Peninsula of Arabia, his directions and instructions or replies to any queries or references that should have been made by them. Several such are cited in my *al-Watha'iq as-Siyasiyah*.

§ 42. (g) **Rules and tariffs of Taxes.** There are a number of references, showing, that about the end of his life, the Holy Prophet dictated the rates of *zakat*, i.e., the dues to government, in respect of tillage, flocks of herds, mines, etc., but before these could be sent to the provinces, he breathed his last; and that Abu Bakr and the succeeding caliphs

7. Bukhari 3:7 (K. 'Ilm, B. ma yudhkar fi'l-munawalah); Tabari, Ta'rikh I, 1572 (anno 6 H.). The original has lately been discovered and is actually in the private collection of Mr. Henri Pharaon, Beyrouth, and bears in fact the marks of tearing. See on the subject my article "Original de la lettre du Prophete a K:ra", in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Rome, XL, 1965, pp. 57-69.

1. Bukhari, 93:40 (K. Ahkam, B. tarjamat'ul hukkam); Abu Dawud, 24:2, (K. 'Ilm, B. riwayat hadith ahl al-kitab); Kattani, at-Taratib, I, 202-207, citing Tirmidhi and others; Tabari, Ta'rikh, I, 1460 (anno 4 H.); Baladhuri, Futuh, p. 474; Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, I, 30; etc.

2. *ibid.*, particularly al-Bukhari.

ordered their compliance.<sup>3</sup> These must have been only revised rules, since taxes on these things paid by Muslims are referred to even earlier.

§ 43. (h) **Translation of the Qur'an.** In this connection, the translation of the Qur'an made by Salman al-Farsi also deserves to be mentioned. Some Iranians, — one is not certain whether they were of Yemen or Bahrain (al-Ahsa') or 'Uman or elsewhere, — were converted to Islam, and applied for permission to say their prayers temporarily in their mother tongue. The Persian Salman al-Farsi translated the first chapter (**Surat al-Fatihah**), and sent it on to them. The well-known Hanafite jurist Shams'ul-A'immah as-Sarakhsi states:

"It has been reported that the Persians wrote a letter to Salman al-Farsi, requesting him to send them a Persian translation of the **Surat al-Fatihah**. Thus these persons used to recite this (translation) until the time their tongues got familiarized with the Arabic text."<sup>1</sup>

The Egyptian scholar, Farid Wajdi, on the basis of another reference, precises that Salman al-Farsi had made this translation and sent it on with the per-

3. The text has been preserved by Abu Dawud, ad-Darqutni, Tabari, ad-Darimi, etc. In the narrative of Abu Dawud (K. zakat) and at-Tirmidhi (K. zakat) we read: "The messenger of God wrote down the prescription of zakat-taxes, but died before despatching it to the governors. He had tied this document to his sword. Abu Bakr applied it till he died; then 'Umar applied it till his death." In the version of Abu Dawud, it is added: 'Az-Zuhri (51-125 H.) affirmed: I have read it myself. It was preserved in the family of 'Umar; and the caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz had obtained a copy of it." The document which the caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab (d. 24 H./644) had prepared has been preserved by Malik (d. 179 H./795) in his Muwatta' with this precision: "I have myself perused the letter of 'Umar about the zakat-taxes."

1. as-Sarakhsi, Mabsut, I, 37.

## mission of the Holy Prophet.<sup>2</sup>

§ 44. The purpose of these illustrations is to collect such traditions of written documents as are connected with the time of the Holy Prophet. As we shall have occasion to mention later, in connection with 'Amr ibn Hazm, not only the sayings, but even the writings of the Prophet began to be collected by his Companions.

### Some Incidental Occasions of Writing.

§ 45. Al-Bukhari and several other sources<sup>3</sup> have recorded that in the year 8 H./629, on the occasion of the peaceful conquest of Mecca, the Holy Prophet delivered a sermon on the rights and duties of humanity and other important problems. A man of Yemen, Abu Shah, who was present at the time, said: "O Messenger of God, please have this written out for me". The Prophet accordingly caused the sermon to be transcribed for him. The exact text of his order was: "Write it down for Abu Shah".

§ 46. There must have been cases when a Companion of the Prophet not residing at Medinah,

2. Farid Wajdi, al-Adillat al-'Ilmiyah 'ala Jawaz Tarjamat ma'ani al-Qur'an ila al-Lughat al-Ajnah-biyah, ed. Cairo, p. 58, citing an-Nihayah wa'l-Bidayah. But he means in fact "an Nihayah Hashiyat al-Hidayah" by Taj ash Shari'ah (ed. Delhi, 1915, I, 36 and note 1), where the author reproduces the above mentioned text of Sarakhsi, quotes part of the Persian

translation,

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and adds: "after having written that, he presented it to the Holy Prophet, and then sent it to them since the Prophet did not disapprove that. So is mentioned in al-Mabsut." But in the printed text of al-Mabsut, I, 37, there is no such precision, nor in the MSS of al Mabsut which we have been able to consult in Istanbul.

3. al-Bukhari, 3:39 (K. 'Ilm, B. kitabat al-'ilm, No. 2); Abu Dawud, 24:3 (K. 'Ilm, B. kitab al 'ilm, No. 4-5); at-Tirmidhi, 12, No. 2 (K. Ilm, B. ma ja'a fi'r-rukhsat fih).

should have come to the metropolis for a short sojourn, and when returning should have taken back with him some written notes of what he had heard from the Holy Prophet, or even his instructions exclusively meant for him or his clan. Among the inhabitants of Medinah, the common people, such as cultivators, labourers, craftsmen, etc., who had no special aptitude or taste for letters and intellectual avocations, should on some occasion or other have been so deeply impressed by some particular oration or phrase that they must have made a written note for future reference. Such cases may be said to have been accidental occasions of writing down the Hadith in the life-time of the Holy Prophet.

### **Deliberate Arrangements in the Holy Prophet's Time for the Compilation of Hadith.**

§ 47. There are not lacking traditions to the effect that the Holy Prophet prohibited his Companions from putting down in writing anything and everything that was heard from his lips except that which was the Qur'an. There are also sayings through which he has not only permitted, but even ordered his Companions to write down his sayings.

§ 48. Such seemingly "contradictory" orders did not create any perplexity in the minds of his Companions, because they were fully aware of the context of every pronouncement. They did however cause a little confusion to some later traditionists, and each one complied with the text of the saying which had come to his knowledge. Later, when all the relevant data, for and against, were collected, intelligent and discerning minds found no difficulty in gathering the real desire of the Holy Prophet. For instance, it is worth bringing into relief that in his *Sahih*, the great specialist al-Bukhari includes a special "chapter on the writing down of the science (i.e., of the Prophet)". This deals with the

sanction accorded to the writing of Hadith. There is no chapter, not even a single Hadith, issuing injunctions against or expressing disapprobation of writing down the Hadith. (See *infra* § 119)

§ 49. Before citing — and scrutinizing — the reports that the Prophet had laid interdiction against the writing of Hadith, it seems meeter to continue the present discussion and cite reports on the permissibility of recording Hadith in writing, and of actual cases where profits were reaped by taking advantage of this permission. Such reports are as numerous as they are impressive:

§ 50. (i) **An Ansarite.** At-Tirmidhi relates<sup>1</sup> that one day an Ansarite Companion came into the presence of the Holy Prophet and complained of the weakness of his memory. He added that he felt enlightened and elevated on hearing what the Holy Prophet spoke every day by way of exhortation or admonishment, but on account of his weak memory he failed to retain it all in his mind. The Holy Prophet replied: "Be helped by thy right hand", (i.e., take it down in writing). The source does not exactly mention who this Ansarite was. One may naturally suppose that he must have profited by this permission.

§ 51. (ii) **Abdullah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As.** A similar instance is recorded of the Meccan 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As.<sup>2</sup> He, with the knowledge and permission of the Holy Prophet, used to note down his sayings, so that he might not forget them. People asked him not to do so. They said that the Prophet was after all a human being, subject to moods of pleasure and anger, and

1. 12:1 (K. 'Ilm. B. ma ja'a fi'r rukhsat fihī, No. 1).

2. at-Tirmidhi, 39:12:3 (K. 'Ilm. B. ma ja'a fi'r-rukhsat fihī, No. 3); Abu Dawud 24:3 (K. 'Ilm. B. kitāb al-'ilm); Ibn Hanbal (new ed.), No. 6510, 6802, 6930, 7018, 7020; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, IV/ii, p. 8-9; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'ab*, No. 1584; ar-Ramhurmuzi, § 316, 319-322; etc.



as such it would not be fitting to record indiscriminately anything and every thing that was spoken by him. It was a sensible suggestion. But being an intelligent youth, 'Abdullah went to the Holy Prophet and asked: "May I write down whatever I hear from thee?" He replied: "Yes". As an additional precaution, he asked: "On occasions, both of pleasure and anger?" The Holy Prophet pointed to his mouth and said: "By God, whatever issues from this is verily right and truth." Al-Bukhari<sup>2</sup> cites: Wahb ibn Munabbih has related on the authority of his brother Hammam ibn Munabbih (the compiler of the text presented herewith):

"I heard Abu Hurairah saying: Amongst the Companions of the Holy Prophet, there is none who recounts a greater number of Hadith than myself, except 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr, who used to write them out (on the spot), but not so I."

'Abdullah gave the name of **as-Sahifah as-Sadiqah** (which means the truthful record) to this compilation of his, collecting the sayings of the Prophet.<sup>3</sup> It is said<sup>4</sup> that 'Abdullah used to say: "I have remembered one thousand **mathal** from the Prophet" (He certainly meant narrations thereby, and not merely proverbs). May be the reference is to this same compilation. Anyhow, the original of the **Sahifah Sadiqah** remained preserved in his family for a long time. His grandson 'Amr ibn Shu'aib used to hold it in hand, read it out and dictate his lectures.<sup>5</sup> To ibn Hanbal we owe all thanks, for,

2. al-Bukhari, 3:39, No. 3 (K. 'Ilm, B. kitab al-ilm); 'Abd ar-Razzaq, Musannaf, vol. 4 (MS. Istanbul), ch. Kitab al-ilm, Jami' of Ma'mar (which is published inadvertently in the Musannaf of 'Abdur-Razzaq as its chapters, see XI, N° 20489).
3. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqat, IV/ii, p. 8-9; ar-Ramhurmuzi, § 322, 323, 324.
4. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Isti'ab, No. 1584; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah, III, 233.
5. Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib at-Tahdhib, VIII, p. 48-55, No. 80

as in the case of the *Sahifah of Hammam*, which shall be referred to later, he seems to have incorporated the whole of this work of 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr also, in his invaluable and voluminous *Musnad*, in the chapter "Abdullah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As" and thus attenuated the loss of the original. Ibn Hanbal and others<sup>1</sup> have referred to this compilation of Abdullah, and they give other details:

"It is narrated by Abu-Qabil: One day we were with 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr. He was asked Which town would be conquered first, Constantinople or Rumia (Rome)? Upon this, he sent for an old box, and taking out a book from it, looked into it and said: One day we were sitting) in the presence of the Holy Prophet and were writing down whatever he spoke. In the meantime he was asked: Which town would be first conquered, Constantinople or Rumia? The Holy Prophet replied: The town of the son of Heraclius will be conquered first, — i.e., Constantinople."

These details show that it was not simply 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr, but a whole group of the Companions of the Prophet who used to write down the sayings of the Prophet, and that, in his very presence. This "old box" of the narration may have contained more books than one. 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As was a man of great piety and ascetical temperament, although still a youth. He had embraced Islam even before his father. In his great passion for learning, he learnt the Syriac language.<sup>2</sup>

1. ad-Darimi, *Sunan*, ch. 43 (man rakhkhasa fi ki'abat al-'ilm); Ibn Manzur, *Lisan al-'Arab*, s.v. z-h-m رزح; Ibn Hanbal, No. 6645 (cf. also No. 6623); Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futuh Misr*, p. 256-7; *Majma' az-Zawa'id*, VI, 219 (cited by the editor of the new edition of Ibn Hanbal, under No. 6645).

2. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, IV/ii, p. 11.

He used to regularly read the Bible, being authorized to do so by the Prophet.<sup>3</sup> Later somehow he got a camel's load of the religious books of the Judeo-Christians, which he read and assimilated;<sup>4</sup> and on the basis of this literature, compiled a whole volume which he named *Sahifah Yarmukiyah*<sup>5</sup> (apparently in memory of the place where the celebrated battle against the Byzantines took place and where he got those books of Biblical lore in booty). He died in 65 H./684, at the age of seventy-two years.<sup>6</sup>

§ 52. (iii) *Abu Rafi'* the freed slave of the Prophet. *Abu Rafi'*, a Coptic convert, also begged permission of the Prophet for noting down the Hadith, and was allowed to do so.<sup>1</sup> His life is picturesque,<sup>2</sup> but there are no details obtainable about his compilation of the sayings of the Prophet.

3. Ibn Hanbal, II, 222 (N° 7067); Abu Nu'aim, *Hilyat al-Auliya'*, I, 286.

4. Ibn Hajar, *Fat'h al-Bari*, I, 167.

5. Cited by Manazir Ahsan Gilani, *Tadwin-e-Hadith*, p. 57, without mentioning his source, but see Ibn Ka'bir, *Tafsir*, I, 4.

6. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, IV/ii, P. 13.

1. Cited by Zubair Siddiqi, in his paper "Ahadith were recorded during the life-time of Muhammad" (in the proceedings of the first session of Idara-i-Ma-arif-i-Islamiyah, Lahore, p. 62-71). May be there is a confusion with Rafi ibn Khadij concerning whom ar-Ramhurmuzi § 330 reports that Rafi ibn Khadij said: O Messenger of God, we hear from thee many things may we put them to writing? Yes, replied the Prophet."

2. According to ibn Hisham (p. 460-1) he had embraced Islam even before the battle of Badr of the year 2 H. According to the *Usd al-Ghabah* of Ibn al-Athir (I, 77), he had even taken part in the battle of Uhud of the year 3 H., in company of the Prophet. As-Suhaili (*Raud al-Unuf*, II, 73-9) says he was a slave of 'Abbas, uncle of the Prophet. According to al-Baladhuri (*Ansab*, ed. Cairo, 1959, I, 477), the Prophet sent him after the migration to Medinah to fetch his family from Mecca (that is to say he had been in Medinah since the very first

§ 53. (iv) **Compilation of Anas and its Correction by the Prophet.** By far the most important case is that of the Ansarite Anas ibn Malik. When the Holy Prophet migrated to Medinah, Anas was but a boy of ten, nevertheless he had learnt how to read and write. His parents, out of the intensity of their devotion, ordered him to serve as a page to the Holy Prophet. Anas stayed with him night and day, and only left the house ten years later when the Holy Prophet died (cf. Ibn al-Athir, *Usd at-Ghabah*, I, 128). Anas survived long until 91 H./709. It can easily be understood that Anas had ample opportunities of noting the actions of the Prophet and hearing his words, while no other person could have had the same facilities. Ad-Darimi<sup>3</sup> re-

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(Continued from the previous page)

year of the Hijrah. But Abu Dawud (Sunan. 15:162, K. Jihad, B. Al-imam yustajannu bihi fi'l-'uhud) affirms that once the Meccan pagans sent him as their envoy to Medinah, where he embraced Islam and would not have returned to Mecca if the Prophet had not ordered him that, saying that he would not like being accused of detaining ambassadors. We possess also a deed, by which the Prophet granted him his freedom, and it is transcribed by Mu'awiyah (cf. my *al-Watha'iq as-Siyasiyah*, No. 222). We know that Mu'awiyah embraced the Faith in the year 8 H., after the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet.

The Prophet had another freed slave, Rafi'. May be there is sometimes confusion between the two, Rafi' and Abu Rafi', which would explain the conflicting reports in our sources (migration to Medinah along with the Prophet and yet arrival later to Medinah as the envoy of the pagans, for instance). However it may be suggested that the diplomatic mission (of Rafi' or Abu Rafi') may have concerned the ransoming of the prisoners of the battle of Badr of the year 2 H., or a bit earlier the ransoming of the prisoners of Nakhlah (cf. Ibn Hisham, p. 426).

But these problems should not detain us longer.

3. Sunan of Darimi, ch. 43 (man rakhkhasa fi kitabat al-'ilm), ar-Ramhurmuzi, N° 326; Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Taqyid al-Ilm*, p. 96-97; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jami Bayan al-Ilm*, I, 73; *Sahih of Muslim* along with commentary of an-Nawawi, I, 244; *Majma' az-Zawa'id*, I, 162.

lates that Anas, 'in later life, always used to counsel his children: "O my children, write out this Learning (i.e., Hadith)". Ad-Darimi<sup>1</sup> also reports an occasion on which the narrator says: "I saw Aban (one day) sitting with Anas and writing Hadith." It is but natural that the descendants of Anas as well as his disciples should have engaged themselves in writing Hadith, when they must have been witnessing Anas busy more than any one else in compiling traditions. A whole group of Hadith scholars<sup>2</sup> have related, — some on the authority of Sa'id ibn Hilal, other on that of Habbairah ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman, — the following fact:

"When we used to press much (**aktharna**) — and in another version: when we used to be numerous (**kathurna**) — Anas would take out note books (**majall** or **sikak** according to versions), and say: 'These are the traditions which I heard from the Holy Prophet and submitted for his perusal'."

It may be noted that Anas was not only in the habit of taking down in writing whatever he saw or heard from the Holy Prophet, but even used to submit his notes to the Prophet for scrutiny and necessary correction.

§ 54. These are only some instances to show how during the time of the Holy Prophet himself the Hadith was being compiled. After the death of the Prophet, the task of putting down in writing the Hadith was multiplied by the Companions to an ever-increasing degree for a variety of reasons.

1. *ibid.*

2. Ar-Ramhurmuzi, *al-Muhaddith al-Fasil* N° 325, (or MS. Koprulu, Istanbul), ch. al-Kitab; Khatib al-Baghdadi *Taqyid al-'Ilm*, p. 95-6; al-Hakim, *al-Mustadrak*, cited by Manazir Ahsan Gilani, *Tadwin-e-Hadith*, p. 67-68; Suyuti, *Tadrib ar-Rawi*, p. 143.

Certain facts relevant to this aspect of the matter are noted hereunder:

### Collection of State Documents by 'Amr ibn Hazm.

§ 55. 'Amr ibn Hazm was a celebrated governor of Yemen appointed by the Holy Prophet. We owe much to his intellectual acumen. His taste was maintained in his family for many generations. (As we shall see later, one of his descendants was the governor of Medinah in the time of the caliph 'Umr ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, and was charged by this caliph to undertake the collection and codification of the traditions of the Prophet extant in Medinah).

§ 56. Like other governors, 'Amr ibn Hazm too received instructions from the Prophet<sup>1</sup> regarding the administrative policy to be followed, but his intellectual aptitude has benefited this science. For not only did he take care to preserve this valuable document, but also collected together 21 other official documents of the Prophet, which were addressed to the Jews of Banu 'Adiya (in Taima') and Banu 'Uraid, to Tamim ad-Dari, to the tribes of Juhainah, Judham, Taiy, Thaqif, etc., and compiled them in a book form. This may be considered to be the first compendium of the documents or official letters of the Prophet's time. Being in administrative employ, he had not only easier access to these documents, but also the understanding to evaluate them duly. Being also an intellectually gifted person, he took care that his work did not perish with him: he transmitted his compilation to future generations. The version transmitted of this in the 3rd century of the Hijrah by the famous traditionist of Daibul (Thatta, in Pakistan), named Abu Ja'far al-Daibuli,<sup>2</sup> has been

1. For the text see my *al-Watha'iq as-Siyasiyah*, No. 105, where sources are also given. Also my *Documents sur la Diplomatie*, I-N° 68.

2. For his biography, see Yaqut, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, § Daibul; as-Sam'ani, *Ansab*, § Daibuli.



preserved and has come down to us. In fact there is a compilation of the name **I'lam as-Sa'ilin 'an Kutub Saiyid al-Mursalin**, by a reputed Syrian scholar Ibn Tulun, the autographed manuscript of which is preserved in the Library of the Arab Academy (al-Majma' al-'Ilmi) of Damascus. It has also been edited. This work embodies, in the form of an Appendix, the precious opuscle of 'Amr ibn Hazm.

### General Codification of Hadith in the Time of the Companions.

§57. (a) A tradition in the **Sahih** of Muslim<sup>3</sup> relates that Jabir ibn 'Abdullah wrote a booklet on the Hajj (pilgrimage). It is quite possible that the author had recorded therein the behaviour and practices of the Holy Prophet during his Final Pilgrimage, as well as the sermons he delivered on this occasion. Our sources<sup>4</sup> mention also that Jabir used to hold a study circle in the Prophet's Mosque at Medinah, where students were given instruction in Hadith. One of his pupils was the famous historian Wahb ibn Munabbih (brother of Hammam, whose **Sahifah** is presented herewith), to whom Jabir had dictated the Hadith.<sup>1</sup> According to al-Bukhari,<sup>2</sup> another of his pupils, the celebrated traditionist Qatadah, used to say: "I know the **Sahifah** of Jabir, by heart, even better than the second chapter of the Holy Quran (Surat al-Baqarah)". Another of his students, Sulaiman ibn Qais al-Yashkuri used to say that he

3. Cited by Manazir Ahsan Gilani, *Tadwin-e-Hadith*, p. 68

4. Ibn Hajar, *Isabah*, I, 434, No. 1021.

1. Manazir Ahsan Gilani, p. 68, citing *Tahdhib at-Tahdhib* of Ibn Hajar.

2. al-Bukhari, *at-Ta'rikh al-Kabir*, IV/i, p. 186 N° 827. According to Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 85, the **Sahifah** of Jabir "seems to have been preserved by Ibn Hanbal, II, 290-400".

also had written the traditions related by Jabir.<sup>3</sup> There were several others in addition who received instruction from Jabir, and have referred to his *Sahifah*.<sup>4</sup>

§ 58. (b) **The Mother of the Faithful 'A'ishah** 'A'ishah, the wife of the Prophet, knew to read only, but she did not write. It is related that her nephew (sister's son), the celebrated historian, 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair used to take down in writing the Hadith narrated by her even as some other Companions of the Prophet did. But these were destroyed during the Battle of Harrah. He felt so miserable at this incident that in later life he used to say: "Would! I had sacrificed my family and all my property in place of these books".<sup>5</sup> There were other students of lady 'A'ishah. One of them was a lady 'Umrah, daughter of 'Abd ar-Rahman, whom she had brought up from her childhood and trained and educated. It is not known whether 'Umrah herself wrote down anything, but the caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz directed his governor of Medinah, that is Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn 'Amr ibn Hazm, who was lady 'Umrah's nephew (sister's son), to take down in writing the Science (i.e., stock of Hadith) that was with 'Umrah bint 'Abd ar-Rahman, as also the science of Qasim ibn Muhammad.<sup>6</sup> This Qasim ibn

3. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib at-Tahdhib*, IV, 215, No. 369.

4. *ibid*.

5. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, V, 133; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib at-Tahdhib*, VII, 183, No. 351; Ma'mar, *Jami'* (in 'Abd ar-Razzaq's *Musannaf*) N° 20902.

6. Al-Bukhari, *Sahih*, 3:34 (K, 'Ilm, B, kaifa yuqbad al-'ilm); "Umar ibn 'Abd al-Aziz wrote to Abu Bakr descendant of Hazm to the following effect: Look for what concerns the Hadith of the Messenger of God, and write it out, for I fear the extinguishing of the knowledge and disappearance of those who know. And do not accept anything except the Hadith emanating from the Prophet. Let these (savants) publish and hold

Muhammad was the nephew (brother's son) of 'A'ishah and being an orphan, had been adopted and brought up by her. He grew to be a great savant. Ibn 'Uyainah relates: "'Umrah and Qasim ibn Muhammad were the persons who knew the science of 'A'ishah better than anybody else".<sup>1</sup> 'A'ishah's learning needs no recommendation: in Hadith and law, in

(Continued from the previous page)

meetings (of lectures) so that those who do not know may learn. In fact the knowledge would never be destroyed unless if it is kept secret." In compliance to the orders of the caliph, the learned governor Abu Bakr charged a pupil of his, the celebrated traditionist az-Zuhri (51-125 H.) to collect the Hadith material. In his *Fa'ih al-Bari*, commentary of the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari, (I, 157), Ibn Hajar develops it thus: "Abu Nu'aim in his *Ta'rikh Isbahan* reports: 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Aziz wrote in all horizons (regions) the following: Look for the Hadith of the Messenger of God and collect it'. After this systematic collection all over the empire, 'Sa'd ibn Ibrahim reports: 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Aziz ordered us to collect (classify) the traditions. When we wrote them in separate volumes, he sent a copy to each territory under his authority." (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jami' Bayan al-Ilm*, I, 76.)

I hesitate to add the name of another wife of the Prophet, Mother of the Faithful Umm Salamah in this connection, since I have not yet found a clear statement to that effect, although there is strong evidence in favour of doing so. For instance, she knew reading (Baladhuri, *Futuh*, 482), she was a poet (Ibn Habib, *Muhabbar*, p. 84; Baladhuri, *Ansab* ed. Cairo, vol. I, § 599); she was counted among jurisconsults and gave legal opinions (Ibn Hazm, *Jawami' as-Sirah*, p. 320) even as became later jurisconsult her daughter from a previous husband, Zainab bint Abu Salamah (*idem*, p. 323); she ranked high among the narrators of the Hadith, having reported as much as 384 traditions in the statistics prepared by Baqiy ibn Makhlad (*idem*, p. 276). (That this appendix in the work of Ibn Hazm is really the compilation of Baqiy ibn Makhlad is clear from the MS of al-Isti'ab, *Ayasofia* No. 454, fol. 186-188, where the *Jawami' as-Sirah* forms part of and appendix to his work al-Isti'ab, and where the authority of Baqiy ibn Makhlad is clearly mentioned.)

1. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib at-Tahdhib*, VII, 182, No. 351.

poetry and genealogy, in the history of Arabia and in medicine, in fact she was an expert and well-versed in these various branches of science. Even the greatest of the Companions of the Prophet acknowledged her skill and great acumen in legal matters, and always consulted her.

§ 59. (c) **Caliph Abu Bakr's Codification.** It is related that the caliph Abu Bakr also collected the Hadith of the Prophet in book form, and that this collection consisted of 500 narrations. but as an after-thought he destroyed it, lest some wrong word or expression should be attributed to the Prophet on account of the compiler's defective remembrance. In his biographical dictionary, adh-Dhahabi<sup>2</sup> relates on the authority of Qasim ibn Muhammad, that 'A'ishah said: My father collected the traditions of the Prophet, and they grew to be 500 in number. But one night he got very restless, continually changing sides in bed, sometimes laying upon one and sometimes upon another". She adds: "This caused me great grief. I asked: 'Art thou doing so on account of any indisposition or for any report that hath reached thee?' Next morning he told me: 'Daughter of mine! fetch me the book of Hadith which is with thee'. I took it to him and he sent for fire and burnt it. I asked: 'Why didst thou burn it?' He replied: 'I feared that should I die leaving this book behind and it should contain ■ Hadith related by a person who in my opinion may have been trustworthy and meriting confidence but in reality the narration should not have been as he had related it, and I should have reproduced it only to be proved later to be not correct. And God knows better." It is possible — even probable — that Abu Bakr compiled this work at the demand of his daughter 'Aishah whose thirst for knowledge was never quenched.

§ 60. (d) **Codification by the Caliph 'Umar.** The caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab intended to make

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2. Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, 1,5.

official arrangements to collect the Hadith of the Prophet. He consulted the Companions, and all of them were of the opinion that the traditions should be codified. But, later, 'Umar himself changed his mind. The traditionist Ma'mar ibn Rashid (d. 153 H./770) relates: az-Zuhuri (d. 125 H.) reports on the authority of 'Urwah that "'Umar intended to write down the Hadith in a book form, and consulted the Companions of the Prophet in the matter. They gave the opinion that he should write down the Hadith.<sup>1</sup> 'Umar then went on doing *istikharah*<sup>2</sup> for a whole month. One morning he rose and by that time God had caused him to make up his mind. So he declared: I was intending to put in writing the Hadith, but then the thought came to me of the people who lived before you<sup>3</sup> and who wrote books and grew to be so deeply engrossed in them that they abandoned and neglected even the Book of God. By God! I on my part shall never mix up anything with the Book of God (Qur'an)."<sup>4</sup>

§ 61. (e) **Rolls of the caliph 'Ali.** There are numerous reports that 'Ali also possessed certain written documents, which he rolled up and kept always with him attached to his sword. A few citations would enlighten us on the contents of this col-

1. This implies clearly that in their opinion and to their knowledge, the Prophet had not forbidden it. But we shall revert to it again later in a separate section (§ 119).
2. That is consulting divine enlightenment in the following manner: Saying a special prayer of two rak'ats, beseeching God to enlighten him in the problem, and then going to sleep. The opinion formed on awakening is considered to be inspired. In case of doubt, one repeats it again and again, in the following nights. 'Umar is reported to have done it for a whole month.
3. i.e., Jews, Christians, etc.
4. Al-Jami', see in the Musannaf of 'Abdur-Razzaq, ed. Beyrouth, XI, N° 20484; Khatib al-Baghdadi, Taqyid al-'Ilm, p. 49; etc.

lection. Al-Bukhari<sup>5</sup> reports that "Abu Juhaifah related: I asked 'Ali ibn Abi Talib: 'Is there any book with thee?' He replied: 'No, except the Book of God (Qur'an) or such understanding as may be had by any Muslim, and whatever is in this **Sahifah**.' Abu Juhaifah added: I asked: 'What then is in this **Sahifah**?' He answered: 'The rules about blood money, the liberating of prisoners, and that no Muslim should be executed for the sake of any Unbeliever'." There is greater precision in another report by al Bukhari,<sup>1</sup> who reports: "Ali delivered a sermon to us and said: 'There is no book with us which we may recite, but the Book of God (Qur'an) or whatever is in this **Sahifah**', and added: 'In this are rules of damages for torts to person, and the ages of camels (for purposes of government tax). It contains further that Medinah is a sanctuary (**haram**) from the hill of 'Air until such and such a place. So whoever should commit murder there, or give quarter to the murderer, on him will be the curse of God, of angels and of men; (on the day of Judgement) no monetary payment or compensation will be accepted from him. Should a contractual brother (**mawla**) enter into a fraternal relationship with another person without the permission of his (first) contracted brother, he too shall be subject to the same (curse). Further, the responsibility, lying upon no matter which Muslim, will be one and common (to all); whoever breaks his agreement with a Muslim, shall likewise be under this (curse)'." Another tradition of al-Bukhari<sup>2</sup> is more detailed, and the sentence contained in the middle of it is: "The responsibility of no matter which Muslim is the same: whoever is the closest of them will endeavour for its (fulfilment); and whoever should break his

5. al-Bukhari, Sahih, 3:39 (K. 'Ilm, B. kitabat al-'ilm, No. 1).

1. ibid. 58:10 (K. Jizyah, B. dhimmat al-muslimin)

2. ibid. 58:17 (K. Jizyah, B. ithm man 'ahad thumma ghadar).



covenant with a Muslim, on him shall be the curse.....etc." Yet another passage of al-Bukhari makes us believe that this **Sahifah** of 'Ali was quite lengthy, and was a collection of at least four official documents, namely the Schedule of zakat-taxes, the announcement declaring Medinah to be a **haram** and a city-state, and the last Hajj sermon of the Prophet. It seems probable that these documents belonged originally to the Prophet himself, and after his death came into 'Ali's possession. (For part of it is traceable in the Constitution of the City-State of Medinah, of which we have spoken above; this constitution was found in the house of the Prophet attached to his sword,<sup>3</sup> and the sword of the Prophet was found, after his death, in the possession of 'Ali.<sup>1</sup> May be that the other documents were also rolled up and attached to his sword by the Prophet.) Further, we have mentioned above that the Prophet had prepared a schedule of zakat-tax, and that he died before its despatch to the provinces. All this confirms our hypothesis. We have just mentioned, that part of the narration of 'Ali comes from the last-hajj sermon of the Prophet. It is possible that this same passage formed part of the sermon at the conquest of Mecca also, which was codified and handed over to Abu shah, as stated previously. In any case the Hadith in question of al-Bukhari<sup>2</sup> is as follows: "For addressing us, 'Ali got up on a pulpit that was made up of bricks. He had a sword girded to him, from which hung ■ **Sahifah**. He said: By God, we have no book with us for reciting, save the Book of God (Qur'an) or whatever is to be found in this **Sahifah**. He then spread that **sahifah** out and it contained the ages of camels (for tax purposes). In the same manner, it contained

3. Al-Maqrizi, *Imta' al-Asma'*, I, 107, Also see below, version of 'Abd ar-Razzaq, of this same incident.

1. Al-Baladhuri, *Ansab al-Ashraf* (ed. Cairo, 1959,) I: § 1056.

2. *Sahih*, 96 : 5 (K. 91-i'tisam bi'l-kitab, B. ma yukrah min at-ta'ammuq), No. 2.

written in it, that from the hill 'Air until such and such a place is **haram**; whoever should commit murder within it, the curse of God, angels and men will all be on him. There was also written in it that the responsibility of Muslims is one and common, for (the application of) which the closest of them (in rank with the beneficiary of such a pledge) will endeavour to fulfil. He who should break the covenant made by any Muslim, the curse of God, angels and men will all be on him. God will not accept from such a person any return or compensation. Likewise there was written in it that he who, without the permission of his **mawla** (contracted brother), enters into a contractual fraternity with somebody else, on him will be the curse of God, angels and all men. God will not accept from such a person any return or compensation." (See on the same subject al-Bukhari, 29/1/2 and 36/5/2 for at-Tamimi; 87/24, 87/31, for Abu Juhaifah; and 85/21 for Yazid al-A'lam.)

§ 62. Another version of the same incident, contained in the Musannaf of 'Abd ar-Razzaq<sup>3</sup> and reported on the authority of Ja'far as-Sadiq, is the following : "Ja'far ibn Muhammad, on the authority of his father and he on the authority of his own father relates that he found a **sahifah** tied to the hilt of the Prophet's sword. It contained the statement that God dislikes most. the person who kills a man who is not killing him, and beats a man who is not beating him; and that whoever gives quarter to a murderer, from him, on the day of Judgement, God will not accept any monetary payment or compensation. But one who contracts abrotherhood with a person other than the one with whom he has already concluded such a contract, such a one goes against what has been revealed to Muhammad (the Prophet)."

§ 63. A third version is contained in the **Sunan** of Abu Dawud,<sup>1</sup> which is as follows: "It is related by 'Ali: We did not write down anything from the Prophet save the Qur'an and what is contained in this **Sahifah**. He continued: The Prophet declared: Medinah is a haram from the hill 'Air to the hill of Thawr.<sup>2</sup> Whoever should commit murder or give quarter to the murderer, the curse of God, angels and men is all on him. No compensation or monetary payment will be accepted from him (on the day of resurrection). Whoever should break his contract with a Muslim, the curse of God, angels and men is all on him. No compensation or monetary payment will be accepted from him. Whichever contractual brother, without the permission of the original contractual brother, should enter into a new contractual fraternity with another person, the curse of God, angels and men will be all on him. No monetary payment or compensation will be accepted from him. — Ibn al-Muthanna relates in this connection, ..... 'Ali has recorded from the Prophet, that he said: Neither the grass of this (**Haram** of Medinah) should be cut, nor quarry roused, nor things let fall by anybody taken up, except that the public should be informed in the course of the search, respecting the owner. In the same way, it is not proper for anybody to take up arms there (in the **haram** of Medinah) for purposes of fighting, nor is it allowed that any tree there should be cut, save that a man should provide fodder for his camel."

§ 64. All these passages are either verbatim extracts or paraphrases of the Constitution of Me-

1. **Sunan**, 11: 99 (K. Manasik, B. Tahrim al-Madinah). Cf. also al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Taqyid al-Ilm*, p. 88-89.

2. The Mount 'Air constitutes the Southern boundary of Madinah, and Thawr the Northern one. Both are known up to this day. Thawr lies to the West of the Mount Uhud. (This should not be confounded with the Mount Thawr of Mecca, where the Holy Prophet had taken refuge during his migration to Medinah).

dinah, its bye-laws, and other state documents, as we have just explained.

§ 65. There are also reports of his own compilations. So Ibn Sa'd<sup>3</sup> reports: "One day 'Ali said in his sermon: Who would like to buy science for a dirham (silver coin)? Al-Harith al-A'war purchased paper for a **dirham** and brought it to 'Ali, who wrote for him much science (**'ilman kathiran**)". Again, once somebody asked Hujr ibn 'Adi a question. "He said: Fetch me the saḥifah from the window. Then he read it: 'With the name of God, the Most-Merciful, the All-Merciful. This is what I have heard from 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, who said,.....' "1

§ 66. (f) **'Abdullah ibn Abi Awfa's teaching of Hadith by Correspondence.** From a number of narrations by al-Bukhari, it is evident that another Companion of the Prophet, namely 'Abdullah ibn Abi Awfa gave instruction by correspondence. Thus he relates: "Salim Abu'n Nadr, the freed slave as well as scribe of 'Umar ibn 'Abdullah, reports: 'Abdullah ibn Abi Awfa wrote a letter and I read it.— The wording in another version of the same narration is: When he went to fight against the Harurites (Kharijites). 'Abdullah ibn Abi Awfa wrote to him a letter, which I read. — It was to this effect: In one of his expeditions, the Prophet faced the enemy, and waited until the sun crossed the meridian. He then rose and addressed the people and said: 'Oh men, do not desire to face the enemy, but ask God for safety and security. But when you should be brought face to face with the enemy, show patience and firmness, and know that Paradise lies under the shadow of swords'. The Prophet then invoked: 'O God, Sender of the Book, Charger of clouds, Vanquisher of combined armies, defeat them and grant

3. Tabaqat, VI, 116; ar-Ramhurmuḥuzi, § 332-333.

1. *ibid*, VI, 154. See also, Tadwin-e-Hadith of Manazir Ahsan Gilani, p. 423-5.

us victory over them'."2

§ 67. (g) **The Compilation of Samurah ibn Jundub.** Another Companion, Samurah ibn Jundub, also collected Hadith. His book was inherited by his son Sulaiman ibn Samurah. Ibn Hajar<sup>3</sup> writes: "On the authority of his father, Sulaiman ibn Samurah has transmitted a big volume (**nuskhah kabirah**)", and "Ibn Sirin says that the volume written by Samurah for his sons contains much learning (**ilm kathir**)."<sup>4</sup>

§ 68. (h) **The Compilation of Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah.** The Ansarite Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah, of the tribe of Khazraj, by reason of his knowing how to read and write, etc., was considered "the perfect man", even in the pre-Islamic days of Ignorance.<sup>1</sup> He had in his possession a **Sahifah**, in which he had collected the Hadith of the Prophet. This was later transmitted by his son.<sup>2</sup>

§ 69. (i) **'Abdullah ibn 'Umar's dictation of Hadith.** It is not known whether 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar (ibn al-Khattab) had himself written any Hadith, but there is an account in the **Tabaqat** of Ibn Sa'd, narrated by Salman ibn Musa, to the effect that he saw 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar dictating to his

2. al-Bukhari, Sahih 56 : 32 112, 156 (K. Jihad, Bab as-Sabr 'ind al-qital, Bab idha lam yuqatil auwal an-nahar, and Bab la tamannau liqa' al-'aduwa).

3. Tahdhib at-Tahdhib, IV, 198.

4. ibid. IV, 236 No. 401.

1. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqat, III/ii, 142 (literacy, markmanship and swimming combined constituted a "perfect man" Cf. also Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib at-Tahdhib, III, 475, No. 883 al-Baladhuri, Futuh al-Buldan, p. 474, ch. Beginning of Writing. According to this last authority, the "perfect men" in pre-Islamic Medinah were Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah, Usaid ibn Hudair, 'Abdullah ibn Ubaiy, and Aws ibn Khawali.

2. at-Tirmidhi, 13:13 (K. Ahkam, B. ma ja'a fi'l-yamin ma'a ash-shahid, where we read: 'A son of Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah told me that they found in the book of Sa'd that....."

freed slave, Nafi', who was busy writing.<sup>3</sup> Nafi' was ■ very learned man and the ablest of the pupils of 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar. He had spent full thirty years in the company of his teacher, and must have acquired from him all that was to be learnt. 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar used to say with pride: "The existence of Nafi' amongst us is verily ■ great blessing of God."<sup>4</sup>

§ 70. (j) **Works of 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas.** The literary life of 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas is too well-known to need reiteration. A large number of unimpeachable reports affirm, that when he died, he left as many of his writings as could constitute ■ camel-load. The great historian Musa ibn 'Uqbah says: "Kuraib ibn Muṣlim deposited with us a camel's load (**himl ba'ir aw 'idl ba'ir**) of the books of Ibn 'Abbas; and when his own son 'Ali ibn 'Abdullah ibn Abbas wanted ■ book, he wrote to Kuraib, saying: Send me such and such work (**sahifah**). Kuraib used to transcribe it and send to him one of the two copies (i.e., the original or the new copy).<sup>5</sup> When young, it was his habit to go to the elder Companions and ask them information about the Prophet. So a maid servant of the Prophet, Salma, says: I saw 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas coming with (wooden) tablets to (my husband) Abu Rafi', and writing down something about the practice of the Holy Prophet.<sup>6</sup> Later he had his own pupils. Of these 'Ikrimah reports: Certain men of Ta'if came to 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas together with his books. He began to read them out to them (for correcting the text and explanation if necessary).<sup>1</sup> Another pupil of his, Sa'id

3. Cited by Manazir Ahsan Gilani, *Tadwin-e-Hadith*, p. 71. See also Darmi Sunan, *Muqaddimah*, ch. 43 (man rakhkhasa), hadith No. 25.

4. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib at-Tahdhib*, X, 413, No. 742.

5. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, V, 216.

6. *ibid.* II/ii, p. 123.

1. Cited by Manazir Ahsan Gilani (*Tadwin-e-Hadith*, p. 70) on the authority of at-Tirmidhi.



Ibn Jubair, relates: "I came to 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas, and it so happened sometimes that I exhausted in writing, all my stock of paper, then I wrote on (the sole of) my sandal to fill even that up, and then I wrote on my palm".<sup>2</sup> Evidently he made a fair copy after returning home. 'Ata' refers to a more versatile literary activity of 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas. when he says: "Some people used to come to 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas to study poetry, others genealogy, yet others, the pre-Islamic history of the Arabs. There was no category of (specialists) who did not turn to him.....In fact he used to consecrate (weekly) a day wholly to teach law, a day was devoted wholly to the commentary of the Qur'an, a day to the battles of the Holy Prophet, a day to poetry and a day to the pre-Islamic history of the Arabs (aiyam al-'arab)".<sup>3</sup>

§ 71. In addition to the task of permanent compilations, 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas used to teach Hadith by mean, of correspondence also. So "Ibn Abi Mulaikah relates: 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas sent to me in writing the decision of the Prophet to the effect that it was the defendant who should be sworn."<sup>4</sup>

§ 72. (k) **Hadith Correspondence by al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah.** On the inquiry of the caliph Mu'awiyah, the Thaqifite al Mughirah ibn Shu'bah had certain sayings of the Holy Prophet dictated and sent to the capital.<sup>5</sup> This could not have been a unique occasion of the kind.

§ 73. (l) **Hadith Correspondence by Abu Bakrah.** Several sources relate that Abu Bakrah, an attendant on the Holy Prophet, also had recourse to

2. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqat, VI, 179.

3. ibid., II/ii, p. 121-2.

4. Abu Dawud, Sunan, 23:23 (K. aqdiyah, B. al-yamin 'ala al-mudda'a 'alaih).

5. al-Bukhari, Sahih, 10/155, N° 4 (K. adhan, B. adh-dhikr ba'd as-salat), No. 4.

teaching Hadith by correspondence. Thus the governor of Sijistan, 'Abd ar-Rahman reports: "My father Abu Bakrah wrote to me: The Messenger of God has declared: 'No arbitrator should, in anger, decide a case between two persons.'"<sup>6</sup>

§ 74. (m) **A Compilation of 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud.** There is also the case of a compilation of the sayings of the Holy Prophet by one of his most learned and intellectually minded Companions, 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud, a collection which was later found in possession of his son.<sup>1</sup>

§ 75. (n) **Works of the great traditionist Abu Hurairah.** Abu Hurairah belonged to the tribe of Daus, in Yemen. He came as late as the year 7 H./628 to Medinah and embraced Islam; nevertheless he knew more Hadith than many of those who embraced Islam earlier. He himself accounts for this in the following manner:

"Abu Hurairah said: People say (by way of reproach): 'Abu Hurairah relates profusely (the Hadith).' If there had not been these two verses in the Book of God, I would not have related even one Hadith. — He then recited the verses 159 and 160 of the second surat of the Qur'an, the translation of which is as follows:— 'Verily those who hide the proofs and the guidance which We revealed. after We had made it clear in the Scripture: such are accursed of God and accursed of those who have the power to curse. Except such of them as repent and amend and make manifest (the truth). These it is of whom I accept repentance:

6. *ibid.*, 93:13 (K. *ahkam*, B *hal yaqdi al-hakim wa huwa ghadban*), Abu Dawud, 23:9 (K. *aqdiyah*, B. *al-qadi yaqdi wahuwa ghadban*); at-Tirmidhi, 13:7 (K. *Ahkam*, B. *ma ja'a la yaqdi al-qadi wahuwa ghadban*).

1. Al-Hakim, al-Mustadrak (under 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud): 'Once 'Abdur-Rahman ibn 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud showed a book and swore: This is the book of my father, in his own handwriting," Cf. also Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm*, I, 72.

I am One who accepts most the repentance, the Most Merciful.' While our Muhajirite brethren (Meccan immigrants) were busy in the market place with sales and purchases, and the Ansarite brethren (of Medinah origin) in their agricultural and horticultural farms, Abu Hurairah, unmindful of the cravings of his stomach, stuck to the side of the Holy Prophet. He was with him when the others were away (on their respective avocations) and witnessed things of which they had no knowledge."<sup>2</sup>

§ 76. Abu Hurairah not only knew reading and writing — then a rare quality — but had also great literary aptitude. He had learnt Persian,<sup>3</sup> and apparently also Abyssinian,<sup>1</sup> he is said to have known

2. al-Bukhari, Sahih, 3:42 (K. 'Ilm, B. hifz al-'ilm).

3. According to Ibn Majah (Sunan, hadith N°3458, ch. Tibb), even the Prophet talked to him one day in Persian:

درد آشکت درد ("have you pain in your stomach?"). Cf further al-Baihaqi, Sunan, (ed. Hyderabad, 1354), VII, 3 and Abu Dawud, Sunan, ch. Talaq 12/23: "While I was sitting in the company of Abu Hurairah, a Persian lady came along with her son. Both she and her husband, who had divorced her, claimed the guardianship of the child. Jargoning in Persian, she said: O Abu Hurairah, my (former) husband wants to take away my son. Abu Hurairah replied in the same jargon: Draw lots (qur'ah) for the boy....." Apart from the celebrated Salman al-Farsi, one meets other Persians in Medinah even in the time of the Prophet. (Their origin is obscure: perhaps refugees or enslaved prisoners on account of their war with the Byzantines.) For one such, who seems not even to know Arabic, cf. Ibn Hanbal, III, 283. According to Sarakhsi, Mabsut, XVI, 89, even Salman al-Farsi did not know Arabic at the moment when he embraced Islam. Apparently this refers to the early years of the Hijrah. Further, for Zaid's learning Persian, see § 25 *supra*.

1. Cited by Manazir Ahsan Gilani (Tadwin-e-Hadith, p. 439) on the authority of Jami' al-Fawa'id. Cf also Muslim, Sahih K. 39, Salam, N° 104. Al-Bukhari, 76/53 also reports of Abu Hurairah: "he jargoned in Abyssinian", (while he was irritated on being reminded something which he had forgotten in his old age.)

well the contents of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> The Holy Prophet was also very much impressed by the intellectual advance of Yemen over the rest of Arabia, for when a Yemenite delegation came to Medinah to embrace the Faith, he exclaimed: "The faith (**iman**) is Yemenite, the law (**fiqh**) is Yemenite, the wisdom (**hikmat**) is Yemenite."<sup>3</sup> This is not surprising when one remembers the fact the culture and civilization in Saba (Sheba) and Ma'in (Yemen) had reached the pinnacle of its fame hundreds of years before the founding of Rome or even Athens. There, the vogue and development of arts and letters continued even under (Dhu Nuwas') Jewish and (Abyssinians') Christian dynasties, as the discovery of their inscriptions has brought to light. The Abyssinians had yielded place to a not less civilized invader, the Persians, who still ruled there at the time of the conversion of Abu Hurairah.

§ 17. It appears that, when Abu Hurairah embraced Islam, he began in his religious fervour, to consign to writing not only the Qur'an, but also the sayings of the Holy Prophet, as also the description of his doings. Lest the issues might be mixed up and grow complicated, the Prophet prohibited him writing down of anything other than the Qur'an. Consequently, all writings, which probably had been inscribed on shoulder blades of camels and sheep, etc., were burnt.<sup>4</sup> Apparently that was in the early days of his conversion, when he had not known

2. adh-Dhahabi, Tadhkirat al-Huffaz, I 34: "Ka'b (the learned Jewish rabbi, converted to Islam) said: I never saw anybody from among those who have not studied the Pentateuch, who knew its contents better than Abu Hurairah."

3. Muslim, Sahih (K. iman, B. tafadul ahl al-iman). Cf also Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, No. 7496.

4. Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, III, 12-13. The technicians of the Hadith have found that one of the narrators in the chain of this Hadith is not quite impeccable. May be he has exaggerated.

the Qur'an much, and liable not to distinguish it easily from the Hadith. Later, when Abu Hurairah mastered the Qur'an better, the embargo could have ceased to exist. (We shall revert to the question again under § 119). It may be noted that Abu Hurairah had come from Yemen, where the **musnad**, and not the Arabic, script was in vogue. It is possible that he learnt the Arabic script only after his conversion and arrival in Medinah, with all the defects inherent in it at the beginning.

§ 78. If during the Prophet's time, Abu Hurairah had an uncontrollable passion to read, write and learn, his zeal to impart knowledge was, in no wise, less in later years. Thus, on the authority of al-Bukhari, Ibn Hajar<sup>1</sup> writes: "Nearly 800 or more of the Companions of the Prophet and their successors and other men of learning have transmitted the Hadith on the authority of Abu Hurairah."

§ 79. Abu Hurairah had a strong memory, as will be described later. He was also very frank and out-spoken, and never heeded anybody — great or small — when uttering what he considered right. He was at the same time a votary of truth, and as and when he realized that he was in error, he acknowledged it freely and without ado or hesitation. Whatever else may be said against him, his honesty of purpose and his veracity were absolutely free from blemish. During the time of the caliphs, he was on some occasions subjected to criticism but that was only in the matter of his capacity of juristic deduction or interpretation. The following incident will serve to illustrate it: He had once observed that the Holy Prophet, after his meals, had performed the ablutions and offered prayers. He deduced that the eating of cooked food led to the need of a renewal of ablutions. But he had not as-

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1. Tahdhib at-Tahdhib, XII, 265, No. 1216.

certained whether the Prophet was in a state of ritual purity or not before he took meals. Later when he uttered this opinion, his youthful friend, 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas enquired whether it was permitted to perform ablutions (in winter for instance) with water that should have been heated ? (for the heated water comes under the definition of cooked material). Abu Hurairah must then have seen his error of deduction.

§ 80. As a jurist, Abu Hurairah does not hold the high position occupied by either the four Rightly-Guided Caliphs, or 'Abdullah ibn Masud, lady 'A'ishah, 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar and others. But if, from his accounts of what he saw or heard, should be separated his personal opinions, he is assuredly an invaluable source and a reliable fountainhead as far as the traditions of the Holy Prophet are concerned.

§ 81. Abu Hurairah has himself ascribed the strength of his memory to the Prophet's blessing on him.<sup>2</sup> Hearing the fame of his memory, Marwan ibn al-Hakam the governor of Medinah, on one occasion, tested this capacity of his. He sent for him, and after having conversed with him on miscellaneous matters, began to ask him the Hadith of the Prophet. Behind the curtain was seated a scribe, who was writing down everything that Abu Hurairah spoke, Abu Hurairah himself being totally ignorant of the arrangement. The scribe relates: "Marwan went on asking, and I went on writing, and the Hadith grew considerable in number. After the lapse of a year, Marwan sent for Abu Hurairah again, and I was seated once more behind the curtain. He went on questioning him on the same traditions, and I was comparing what he said now with what he had narrated before. He did not speak a word more or

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2. Al-Bukhari, Sahih, 3/42/2, 41/21/2.



word less.<sup>1</sup> This establishes not only the truth of Abu Hurairah's strong memory, but also the fact that, by Marwan's orders, a number of the Hadith that Abu Hurairah narrated were consigned to writing, and that these were verified also by, so to say, a collation with the original.

§ 82. Apart from the above-mentioned codification, there are other collections of Hadith made on the basis of what Abu Hurairah knew and transmitted. So the second collection is reported to have been in the possession of the father of the caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, as we learn from Ibn Sa'd,<sup>2</sup> who records: " 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan wrote to Kathir ibn Murrah al-Hadrami, — who had met at Emesa a number of the Companions of the Prophet, of whom as many as seventy were from among those who had taken part in the battle of Badr (of the year 2 H./623),..... — demanding him to write down what he had heard of Hadith from the Companions of the Messenger of God, save the reports of Abu Hurairah, since we have those with us."

§ 83. A third composition of Abu Hurairah was copied and "edited" by his pupil Bashir ibn Nahik, who reports: "I used to put down in writing whatever I heard from Abu Hurairah. When I desired to leave him, I took over to him his book and read it out, and I told him: 'That is what I heard from you. He said: 'Yes'.'"<sup>3</sup>

§ 84. A fourth report, which concerns the collection of numerous works of Abu Hurairah in his private library, seems to date from his old age, when his memory began to fail. So al-Hasan ibn 'Amr ibn Umaiyah ad-Damri says: "I repeated a

1. al-Bukhari, Kitab al-Kuna, p. 33, No. 289, § Abu'z-Za'za'ah scribe of Marwan.

2. Ibn Sa'd, VII/ii, p. 157.

3. ad-Darimi, ch. 43; al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Taqyid al-Ilm, p. 101.

Hadith to Abu Hurairah, who expressed his ignorance. I told him: 'I have heard it from thee.' He answered: 'If thou hast heard it from me, it must be with me in writing.' He then caught hold of my arm and took me to his house. There he showed me a large number of books of Hadith (**kutuban kathiratan**), and traced out the Hadith in question, and said: 'I had told thee that if I had narrated that Hadith to thee, it must be with me, written down.'"<sup>1</sup>

§ 85. There are several other collections of Hadith, made by Abu Hurairah, which have come down to us. We shall speak of them later under § 118/a. Here we content ourselves with a few details regarding the work which is presented herewith:

### **As-Sahifah as-Sahihah.**

§ 86. Of the pupils of Abu Hurairah, one was Hammam ibn Munabbih, the transmitter of the present work. Having come down to us in toto, it lends itself to be the oldest amongst the collections of Hadith that have as yet been traced. According to Ibn Sa'd,<sup>2</sup> Abu Hurairah died in the year 59 H./677-8; other sources place the event a year earlier in 58. Abu Hurairah came originally from Yemen, and so did Hammam. When Hammam arrived at Medinah for his education, it was but natural that he should have presented himself at Abu Hurairah's, his distinguished countryman. Abu Hurairah made a selection of some one hundred and forty of the sayings of the Prophet for this youthful countryman of his. These are mostly concerned with moral behaviour. He formed them into a small tract and dictated them to his pupil. The exact date is not known, but evi-

1. Ibn Hajar, *Fat'h al-Bari*, I, 174; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm*, I, 4; al-Hakim, *Mustadrak*, III, 511.

2. *Tabaqat*, IV/ii, 64.

dently it was before the death of Abu Hurairah. Some references considered later, show that it was named "**as-Sahifah as-Sahihah**", but the zeal with which Hammam preserved and transmitted it, has made posterity call it "**Sahifah Hammam**". We conserve this appellation, which stands also on both of our MSS. although its full name must be: **as-Sahifah as-Sahihah of Abu Hurairah, intended for Hammam ibn Munabbih**. This stands to reason too, for as seen above, if Abu Hurairah envied anybody in the matter of the knowledge of Hadith, it was 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As, who had left a compilation of Hadith under the title "**as-Sahifah as-Sadiqah**" (i.e., the truthful tract). It is no wonder that in imitation of this, Abu Hurairah should have called his own collection "**as-Sahifah as-Sahihah**" (i.e., the correct tract).

§ 87. This collection of about the middle of the first century of the Hijrah is a valuable document on account of its historical interest. There have been those who have asserted that the Hadith of the Holy Prophet started to be put down in writing only some two or three hundred years after the Prophet and on the basis of that presumption, did not hesitate to charge such personalities as Ibn Hanbal, al-Bukhari, Muslim, at-Tirmidhi, etc. with fraudulence. They based their argument mostly on the assumption that there were no Hadith written during the time of the Prophet or of his Companions. And now this composition of the time of the immediate Companions of the Holy Prophet is in our hand. When carefully compared and collated, it proves that the later compilers, Ibn Hanbal, al-Bukhari, Muslim, etc., have changed not a word, not an iota, let alone the general sense of the traditions of the Prophet. Every Hadith of the **Sahifah Hammam** is not only found verbatim in one or more of the Six Canonical Books of Hadith (**Sihah Sittah**), narrated on the authority of Abu Hurairah, but the

sense of each of these sayings of the Prophet is found narrated on the authority of other Companions of the Prophet too; and so offer complete proof that their attribution to the Holy Prophet is neither fictitious nor baseless. We find for instance in the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari, Hadith No. 56 of the present collection (of Hammam) as related by Anas, and No. 124 as related by Abdullah ibn 'Umar. Hadith No. 54 is reported by al-Bukhari on the authority of both Anas and Sahl ibn Sa'd as-Sa'idi; and so on and so forth.

### **Hammam ibn Munabbih.**

§ 88. The available facts about the life of Hammam may be noted here. Ibn Sa'd<sup>1</sup> relates: "Wahb ibn Munabbih died at San'a in 110 H./728, during the early days of the caliphate of Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik. As for Hammam (his brother), who was of the clan of the **Abna'**,<sup>2</sup> he was older than Wahb. He had met Abu Hurairah in the course of his education, and started recounting many of the Hadith related by him. He died before Wahb, about 101 or 102 H./719, 720. His teknonym (*kunyat*) was Abu 'Uqbah (i.e., father of 'Uqbah)."

§ 89. Further details may be had from Ibn Hajar:<sup>3</sup> "Hammam ibn Munabbih ibn Kamil ibn

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1. *Tabaqat*, V, 396. For the biography of Wahb, see Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, 9/267-302; Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh al-Islam*, V, 4.

2. The term *Abna'* signifies the descendants from Arab wives of those Persians, who had settled down in Yemen after the Persian conquest of this country. The Persian army was sent by the emperor Anusharwan at the request of the Yemenite chieftain Saif ibn Dhi Yazan (or Yaz'an), in order to fight and drive away the Abyssinians. (cf. Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah*, I, 163; Ibn Hisham, p. 41-3; Tabari, *Ta'rikh*, index, § *Abna'*).

3. *Tahdhib at-Tahdhib*, XI, 67, No. 106; also I, 574.

Shaikh<sup>1</sup> al-Yamani Abu 'Uqbah as-San'ani al-Abnawi (Abna-al-Yaman) has transmitted Hadith on the authority of Abu Hurairah, Mu'awiyah, 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas, 'Abdullah ibn 'Umar and 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubair. His own brother Wahb ibn Munabbih, his nephew (brother's son) 'Aqil ibn Ma'qil ibn Munabbih, 'Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Atash, and Ma'mar ibn Rashid have narrated on his authority. Ishaq ibn Mansur reports, on the authority of Ibn Ma'in, that Hammam was trustworthy. Ibn Hibban has given an account of him in his book *ath-Thiqat* (biographies of trustworthy narrators of the Hadith). Al-Maimuni relates, on the authority of Ahmad: He (Hammam) used to take part in the wars of early Islam, (against the Byzantine and Persian empires) and used to buy books for his brother Wahb. He was the pupil of Abu Hurairah and heard Hadith from him numbering almost 140. All these have but one single chain (or source of transmission). Ma'mar had studied with Hammam, when the latter had grown old and his eyebrows had fallen over his eyes. Hammam read over these Hadith to him (Ma'mar), but when Hammam got tired, Ma'mar took the booklet in his

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1. The genealogy stops here, but the same author (*ibid.*, XI, 166, No. 288), when giving the genealogy of his brother Wahb, says: Shaikh (or rather Saih) ibn Dhi Kanar al-Yamani as-San'ani adh-Dhimari. It is to note that the Abna arrived in Yemen after the birth of the Holy Prophet (in 570), yet the above-mentioned genealogies show that this pretended Abna'-man had his father, grandfather and all the fore-fathers bearing purely Arabic names (and not Persian ones). One is obliged to presume therefore that his relation with the Abna was of affiliation and alliance, and not of descent; that he was really of Yemenite origin. It is also possible that during the religious persecution of the Jewish king I Nuwas, some of Hammam's fore-fathers may even have embraced Judaism (even Dhu Nuwas being a convert and not an Israelite by birth).

own hand and read out himself the remainder (Hammam listening). 'Abd ar-Razzaq (the narrator) could not say what part he (Hammam) had read and what part was read out to him. Ibn Sa'd said that his death took place in 31 H.<sup>2</sup> Al-Bukhari relates that 'Ali (i.e. al-Madini) stated: I asked a person who had met Hammam ibn Munabbih as to when he died.

2. As we have just seen, Ibn Sa'd (V, 396) has said: 'In

احدى او اثنتين و مائة the year one hundred one or two  
Some early copyist must have mistakenly transcribed it

as 'one hundred and thirty-one احدى و ثلثين و مائة

— the two expressions resembling so much in mss.; and later everybody, even al-Bukhari, took it for 131, and even attributed it to Ibn Sa'd, as Ibn Hajar mentions here, and as we read it elsewhere also, for instance in the al-Jam' bain rijal as-sahihain (II, 554): "'Ali ibn al-Madini says, on the authority of some person who had met Hammam, that this latter died in the year 132, though Ibn Sa'd said that he died in 131. May God be merciful unto him." But all these affirmations are to reject, as they are based on a mistake of fact about the

saying of Ibn Sa'd. اذافات الشرط فات المشروط. Cessante ratione legis cessat ipsa lex. It is true that the date of birth of his disciple, Ma'mar, should be taken into consideration but this is not well established, and rare are those who mention it. Sezgin GAS (I, 290) mentions only one source according to whom Ma'mar was born in the year 'six and ninety.' I think it is a misprint or mistake of decipherment,

since the words ninety and seventy (سبعين / تسعين) resemble so much in Arabic that they are often confounded in manuscripts. Born in 76 H., there is no difficulty that Ma'mar should have studied with Hammam dying in 101 or 102 of the Hijrah.



He replied: In the year 2 H.<sup>1</sup> On the authority of Ibn 'Uyainah, he further stated: 'He said that: I waited ten years for the arrival of Hammam.' I (Ibn Hajar) say that Ibn Sa'd,<sup>2</sup> al-Khalifah and Ibn Hibban have all stated that he died in the year 31 or 32. Al-'Ijli stated that he was a Yemenite, a successor to the Companions (*tabi'i*), and a trustworthy narrator."

§ 90. In his *Kashf az-Zunun*, Hajji Khalifah<sup>3</sup> writes: "As-Sahifah as-Sahihah, the work of Hammam ibn Munabbih, who died in 131 H.,<sup>4</sup> is the very work which he had transcribed on the authority of Abu Hurairah."

### The Preservation of Hammam's Sahifah.

§ 91. The collection of Hadith, obtained by Hammam from his teacher Abu Hurairah, was neither destroyed by Hammam nor kept exclusively for himself. In his turn, he transmitted it to his pupils, and continued until his extreme old age this labour of love, of teaching this book and transmitting it to future generations. Many must have been the persons who received instruction in it, but by good fortune he had amongst his pupils a man of distinction and enthusiasm, Ma'mar ibn Rashid,<sup>5</sup> who without either

1, 2. cf. the preceding note.

3. in loco, in this alphabetically arranged work.

4. cf. penultimate foot note.

5. Abu 'Urwah Ma'mar ibn Rashid (d. 153 H./770) not only preserved the Sahifah of Hammam and transmitted it as it was to the next generation, but also he compiled an original work on Hadith, called al-Jami'. As this name implies, he had collected therein all those traditions on the Holy Prophet which he had heard from and noted on the authority of his various teachers. It is a good fortune of science that this al-Jami'

addition or omission, transmitted it to his pupils. Ma'mar too was fortunate in having had a pupil universally esteemed, who distinguished himself by his learning, namely 'Abd ar-Raz-zaq ibn Hammam ibn Nafi' al-Himyari.<sup>1</sup>

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has also been preserved and recently discovered in Turkey. One copy of it is in the library of the Faculty of History and Geography (Isma'il Sa'ib collection, No. 2164) of the University of Ankara; it is incomplete and defective, yet very old, dating from 364 H./974, and copied in Toledo (Spain). The other copy is complete and is found on No. 541 in the Faidullah Library, Istanbul; it dates from 606 H./1209. Dr. Fuad Sezgin of Istanbul University has published in Turkish an interesting article "The origin of Hadith works called musannaf, and al-Jami' of Ma'mar ibn Rashid" (in: *Turkiyat Mecmuasi*, Istanbul, 1955, XII, 115-34). The contents of this work are arranged according to subject and not according to narrators (sources). On a rapid perusal of the Ankara MS., I found at least eight to ten times the reference of the Sahifah of Hammam, but it looked as if Ma'mar had tried in his Jami' to avoid repetition, since it was he himself, who in his turn had transmitted the Sahifah of Hammam, Ma'mar did not want to amalgamate it in his own al-Jami'. The Jami' of Ma'mar has now been published, (cf. *infra* our Bibliography). Ma'mar al-Basri' was the first, according to Dhahabi (al-Ibar, I, 220-221) to go from Basrah to Yemen for study purposes. He seems to have died in 153 H./770 or a year later. For Ma'mar's date of birth, see our note on § 89.

1. A distinguished scholar of San'a (126-211 H./743-826), he has written a celebrated work on Hadith in several thick volumes, called al-Musannaf. He had prosecuted his studies not only with Ma'mar ibn Rashid, but also

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He was again a brilliant product of the same land so productive of culture and devotion, Arabia Felix (Yemen). Like his teacher Ma'mar, he decided not to amalgamate the **Sahifah** of Hammam in his own work, but preserve its integrity, and transmit it to posterity in its original form as an independent work. Two of his pupils have become prominent in Hadith lore, one Ahmad ibn Hanbal<sup>2</sup> and the other Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad ibn Yusuf as-Sulami. Both these have rendered special service in connection with the **Sahifah of Hammam**: Ahmad ibn Hanbal incorporated it into a special section of his voluminous work **al-Musnad**, in the chapter which bears the title "Narrations of Abu Hurairah," thus ensuring the survival of the **Sahifah of Hammam** as long as his own **Musnad** should exist. The other pupil as-Sulami continued narrating the work of Hammam in its independent form. He and his pupils after him had a succession of suitable students, who generation after generation preserved this work in its entire purity. During the time of Muhammad ibn al-Husain ibn al-Qattan, two of his pupils, independently and in their individual way,

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very many other scholars of Hadith of the epoch. Collecting the data from all these different sources, he produced a more exhaustive work than his predecessors. The MSS of his **Musannaf** are found chiefly in Istanbul, Edirne and San'a; fragments are in Medinah, Rabat, Tonk, Hyderabad-Sind and Hyderabad-Deccan. The work is now available in print, in 10 vols.

2. Born and died at Baghdad (164-241 H./780-855). Among his teachers, we encounter not only Ma'mar ibn Rashid, but also ash-Shafi'i; and among his pupils such renowned traditionists as al-Bukhari, Muslim and others.

kept it intact. One was Abu'l-Faraj Mas'ud ibn al-Hasan ath-Thaqafi, amongst whose successors may be traced such distinguished names as those of Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Jahbal, Ibn 'Asakir and Isma'il ibn Juma'ah, and their continuous transmission from generation to generation was kept at least till 856 H. (date of our MS). The other pupil of the same 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Mindah was Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Isbahani. A student of this latter, was a learned man of Khurasan, named Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Mas'ud al-Mas'udi al-Bandahi (of Panjdeh),<sup>3</sup> who, at the time of the war of the Crusades in 577 H./1181 taught this work at the Madrasah Nasiriyah Salahiyah, founded by the Sultan Salahuddin (Saladin) in Damiette, Egypt. By great good luck, the original MS. used by him has been preserved. On perusal, we find that this same manuscript copy was used for a full century, that is until 670 H./1271, by teachers and scholars from generation to generation, who in the course of their lectures on this work dictated it to the audience. All and each of them has also noted on the manuscript the fact of their lectures, and also the names of the students who were present. We learn from these records, that the lectures of al-Bandahi, teacher of al-Malik al-Afdal son of Salahuddin, were attended by the military governor of Damiette and several learned men and scholars of Tannis and Damiette (Egypt). The following table will show the names of those who have kept alive this torch of learning from generation to generation:

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3. For his biography, see Yaqut, *Irshad*, VII, 20; as-Suyuti, *Bughyah*, p. 66; Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat*, No., 631; Brockelmann, *GAL*, revised edition of the 1st vol., p. 437, and Supplement to vol. I, 604.

Abu Hurairah (d. 59 H.)  
 Hammam ibn Munabbih (d. 101/102 H.)  
 Ma'mar ibn Rashid (d. 153 H.)  
 'Abd ar-Razzaq (d. 211 H.)

as-Sulami		Ibn Rehyeh		Ibn Habbal	Ibn Rafi'
Muhammad al-Qattan		Abdullah b. Muhammad		al-Bukhari	Muslim
Ibrahim al-Qattan					
Muhammad b. Mirzah					
'Abd al-Wahhab b. Mindah					
Mas'ud ath-Thaqafi					
Mahmud b. Mindah					
Ibn Jahbal					
Ibn 'Asakir					
Ibrahim b. Ahmad					
'Abdullah b. Juma'ah					
Isma'il b. Juma'ah					
MS BERLIN	MS DAMASCUS	MS CAIRO	MS ISTANBUL	SAHIH	MUSNAD
					SAHIH

§ 92. As we have just observed, the narration of the *Sahifah* of Hammam was carried on from one generation to another, independantly and as a separate book, but there have been some writers of Hadith, who included and incorporated it fully or partly in their works. Of these was Ahmad ibn Hanbal. His method was to classify Hadith under the names of narrators (sources). It was therefore possible for him to copy it down entirely in his book and preserve it intact (cf. his *Musnad*, II 312-9). This served a double purpose. The newly discovered MS. of the *Sahifah* of Hammam could be authenticated by comparing it with the text included in the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Hanbal. At the same time, the authenticity of at least part of the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Hanbal becomes established by means of this new discovery. In this way, both Hammam and Ahmad ibn Hanbal have merited the reward of God, Who has not only reserved for them high rank in the Hereafter, but also has procured to them honour and glory as well as thankfulness of science in this world. (cf. further § 118/f).

§ 93. Other writers, such as Ma'mar, 'Abd ar-Razzaq, al-Bukhari, Muslim, etc., compiled their works on Hadith according to subjects, and not according to the sources that narrated them. So they were obliged to disperse the traditions of Hammam into different chapters of their works. At a cursory glance, for example, the following narrations of Hammam could be traced under different chapters in the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari and the *Sahih* of Muslim, both citing the *Sahifah* of Hammam itself, and it is a remarkably impressive fact that there is not an iota of difference between Hammam on the one hand, and al-Bukhari and Muslim on the other. Same is not the case with other luminaries on the firmament of the Hadith. These latter, without changing the sense, have sometimes permitted themselves



to report parts of the Hadith by synonyms or even paraphrase. In fact all the traditions contained in our **Sahifah** have had several narrators among the Companions of the Prophet, besides Abu Hurairah. There are even pupils of Abu Hurairah, other than Hammam, who have transmitted Hadith on the authority of Abu Hurairah — particularly al-A'raj — which fact has led Shakir of Cairo to think of the existence of a book of al-A'raj. In the following table, we give the serial number of Hammam and refer to al-Bukhari and Muslim, where K. signifies **kitab** (chapter), **B.** signifies **bab** (section), and No. the number of the Hadith in the section:

Hammam	al-Bukhari	Muslim
1	K. 83, aiman wa nudhur, B. 1 titleless, No. 4 + K. 91 ta'bir ar-ru'ya, B. 40 nafkh fi'l-man-am.	K. 7 jumu'ah, No. 30
2	... ..	K. 43 fada'il, No. 23
4	... ..	K. 43 fada'il, No. 20
6	K. 78 adab, B. 57 mayunha 'an at-tahasud	... ..
7	... ..	K. 7 jumu'ah, No. 23
8	... ..	K. 5 masjid, B. fadl salatai as-subh wa'l-'asr No. 2
10	... ..	K. 4 salat, B. tasmi' wa tahmid No. 7
11	... ..	K. 15 hajj, B. jawaz rukub al-badanah No. 3
12	... ..	K. 51 jannah, No. 35

Hamman	al-Bukhari	Muslim
14	K. 83 aiman wa nudhur, B. 3 titleless, No. 9	...
14a	K. 49 'itq, B. 20 idha darab al-'abd	...
17	...	K. 40 alfaz al-adab, B. qatl al-haiyat wa ghairiha No. 28
18	...	K. 33 imarah, B. fadl al-jihad No. 5
21	...	K. 33 imarah, B. wujub ta'at al-umara No. 6 and 7
22	...	K. 48 dhikr wa du'a', B. raf' al-'ilm No. 11
23	K. 61 manaqib, B. 25 'alamat an-nubuwwah No. 36	K. 52 fitan, No. 21
24	the same	...
25	K. 65 tafsir, surah 6, No. 10	K. 1 iman, B. bayan az-zaman alladhi la yuqbal fih al-iman. No. 2
26	...	K. 4 salat, B. fadl al-adhan No. 8
27	K. 97 tauhid, B. 22 kan 'arshuh, No. 2	K. 12 zakat, B. al-hathth 'ala an-nafaqah No. 2
28	...	K. 43 fada'il, B. fadl an-nazar ila an-nabi No. 1
29	K. 56 jihad wa siyar, B. 157 al-harb khad'ah	K. 32 jihad wa siyar, B. jawaz al-khida' No. 2; + K. 52 fitan, B. la taqum as-sa'ah hatta yamurr ar-rajul No. 29

Hamam	al-Bukhari	Muslim
30	K. 97 tauhid B. 35 yuridun an yubad- dilu, No. 7	...
31	...	K. 43 fada'il, B. tau- qiruh wa tark ikthar su'alih No. 3
33	...	K. 48 dhikr wa du'a, No. 6
35	...	K. 2 taharah B. hukm wulugh al-kalb No. 5
36	...	K. 5 masjid wa ma- wadi' as-salat, B. salat al-jama'ah wa bayan at-tashdid No. 12
37	...	the same
39	K. 82 qadr, B. 6 ilqa' an-nadhr, No 2	...
40	(partly) K. 56 jihad wa siyar, B. 157 al- harb khad'ah	K. 12 zakat, B. al- hathth 'ala an-nafaqah No. 2
41	K. 60 anbiya', B. 48 wa'dhkur fil-kitab Maryam, No. 9	K. 43 fada'il, B. fadl 'Isa No. 7
43	K. 10 adhan, B. 74 iqamah-as-saff	K. 4 salat, B. i'timam al-ma'mum No. 11
44	the same	K. 4 salat, B. taswiyah as-sufuf, No. 5
45	...	K. 46 qadr, B. hijaj Adam wa Musa No. 6
46	K. 60 anbiya', B. 20 wa Aiyub idh nada; + K. 97 tauhid, B. 35 yuri- dun an yubaddilu, No. 7	...





Hamman	al-Bukhari	Muslim
47	K. 24 buyu', B. 15 kasb ar-rajul No. 3 (part only); + K. 60 anbiya, B. 37 wa ataina Dawud, No. 1; + K. 65 tafsir, surah 17, No. 7	... ..
48	...	K. 42 ru'ya, No. 20
49	K. 79 isti'dhan, B. 4 taslim al-qalil	... ..
51	K. 65 tafsir, surah 50, No. 3	K. 51 jannah, B. an-nar yadkhuluha al-jabbarun No. 4
53	... ..	K. 1 iman, B. idha hamm ar-rajul bi-hasanah No. 3
55	... ..	K. 1 iman, B. ma'rifah tariq ar-ru'yah No. 3
57	K. 60 anbiya', B. 2 wa idh qal rabbuk, No. 5	... ..
58	K. 79 isti'dhan, B. 1 bad' as-salam	K. 51 jannah, B. yad-khul al-jannah aqwam No. 2
59	K. 60 anbiya', B. 31 wafat Musa, No. 1	K. 43 fada'il, B. min fada'il Musa No. 4
60	K. 5 ghusl, B. 20 man ightasal 'urya-nan	K. 2 taharah, B. jawaz ghusl 'uryanan No. 1; + K. 43 fada'il, B. min fada'il Musa No. 1
62	... ..	K. 21 buyu', B. tahrir matl al-ghaniy No. 2
63	... ..	K. 38 adab, B. tahrir at-tasammi bi-malik al-amlak No. 2
64	... ..	K. 37 libas, B. tahrir at-tabakhtur No. 4

Hamnam	al-Bukhari	Muslim
66	K. 82 qadr, B. 3 Allahu a'lam bima kanu 'amilin, No. 3	K. 46 qadr, B. ma'na kull maulud yulad 'ala al-fitrah No. 6
67	... ..	K. 52 fitan, B. ma bain an-nafkhatain No. 3
68	K. 30 Saum, B. 49 at-tankil No. 2	... ..
69	... ..	K. 2 taharah, B. ka- rahiyah ghamas al-mu- tawaddi', No. 5
70	K. 53 sulh, B. 11 islah bain an-nas; + K. 56 jihad, B. 71 fadl man ha- mala mata' sahi- bihi; + K. 56 ji- had, B. 128 man akhadh ar-rikab	K. 12 zakat, B. ism as- sadaqah yaqa' 'ala kull nau', No. 8
71	K. 90 hiyal, B. 3 zakat, No. 3	... ..
72	the same	... ..
73	... ..	K. 2 taharah, B. nahi 'an al-baul fi'l-ma' ar- rakid, No. 3
75	K. 67 nikah, B. 84 saum al-mar'ah	K. 12 zakat, B. ma anfaq al-'abd min mal maulah No. 3
76	... ..	K. 48 dhikr wa du'a, B. karahah tamanni al-maut No. 6
77	... ..	K. 40 alfaz min al- adab, B. karahiyah tasmiyah al-'inab kar- man No. 5
78 ..	K. 60 anbiya', B. 53 titleless, No. 7	K. 30 aqdiyah, B. is- tihbab islah al-hakim No. 1

Hamam	al-Bukhari	Muslim
79	...	K. 49 taubah, B. al-hadd 'ala at-taubah No. 3
80	...	K. 48 dhikr wa du'a', B. al-hathth 'ala dhikr Allah No. 3
81	...	K. 2 taharah, B. al-itar fi al-istinthar No. 2
82	K. 94 tamanni', B. 2 tamanni' al-khair	
84	K. 49 'itq, B. 17 karahiyah at-tatawul, No. 3	K. 40 al-faz min al-adab, B. hukm itlaq lafzah al-'abd No. 7
85	K. 59 bad' al-khalq, B. 8 ma ja'a fi sifat al-jannah, No. 6	K. 51 Jannah, B. fi sifat al-jannah, No. 1
87	...	K. 32 jihad wa siyar, B. tahlil al-ghana'im lihadhihi al-ummah No. 1
88	...	K. 45 birr wa silah, B. tahrim ta'dhib al-hirrah No. 4
89	...	K. 1 iman, B. bayan an-nahu la yadkhul al-jannah illa al-mu'minun, No. 12 and 13
91	...	K. 4 salat, B. tasbih ar-rajul wa tasfiq al-mar'ah No. 3
92	K. 4 al-wadu, B. 67 ma yaqa' min an-najasat, No. 3	K. 33 imarah, B. fadl al-jihad, No. 5
94	K. 45 luqtah, B. 6 idha wajad tamrah	K. 12 zakat, B. tahrim az-zakat 'ala rasul Allah, No. 5



Hamam	al-Bukhari	Muslim
95	K. 83 aiman wa nudhur, B. 1 titleless, No. 4	...
96	K. 52 shahadat, B. 24 idha tasara'a al-qaum, No. 1	...
97	...	K. 21 buyu', B. hukm bai' al-musarraḥ, No. 6
99	K. 92 fitan, B. 7 man hamal as-silah 'alaina	K. 45 birr wa silah, B. an-nahi 'an al-isharah bi's-silah ila muslim, No. 3
100	K. 64 maghazi, B. 24 ma asab an-nabi, No. 1	K. 32 jihad wa siyar, B. ishtidad ghadab-Allah, No. 1
102	K. 2 iman, B. 31 husn islam al-mar', No. 2	K. 1 iman, B. idha hamm al-'abd bi-hasanah, No. 2
104	...	the same
105	K. 65 tafsir, surah 112, No. 2	...
106	...	K. 5 masajid, B. istihbab al-ibrad
107	K. 4 wudu', B. 2 la tuqbal salat bighair tahir; + K. 90 al-hiyal, B. 2 fi's-salat	K. 2 taharah, B. wujub at-taharah li's-salah, No. 3
108	...	K. 5 masajid, B. istihbab ityan as-salah bi-waqar, No. 3
109	...	K. 33 imarah, B. bayan ar-rajulain yaqtul ahaduhuma al-akhar No. 3
112	K. 60 anbiya', B. 27 hadith al-Khadir, No. 3	...

Hamman	al-Bukhari	Muslim
114	K. 60 anbiya', B. 28 titleless; + K. 65 tafsir, surah 2, § wa idh qulna udkhulu, No. 1.	K. 54 tafsir, No. 1
115	... ..	K. 6 salat al-musafirin, B. amr man na'as, No. 6
117	... ..	K. 27 aiman, B. thawab al-'abd, No. 5
118	K. 8 salat, B. 38 dafn an-nakhamah	... ..
121	K. 97, tauhid, B. 31 qaul Allah: tu'ti al-mulk man tasha', No. 14	... ..
122	K. 57 fard al-khums, B. 8 uhillat lakum al-ghana'im, No. 6	K. 32 jihad wa siyar, B. tahlil al-ghana'im lihadhihi al-ummah, No. 1
123	K. 91 ta'bir, B. 30 al-istirahah	 
124	K. 61 manaqib, B. 25 'alamat an-nubuwwah, No. 18	... ..
126	(last part of) K. 61 manaqib, B. 25 alamat an-nubuwwah, No. 18 (amalgamated with Hamman's hadith No. 125)	... ..
127	 	K. 33 imarah, B. an-nas tab' li-Quraish, No. 2
129	K. 76 tibb, B. 36 al-'ain haqq; + K. 77 libas, B. 86 washimah, No. 1	K. 39 salam, B. tibb. No. 3

Hamman	al-Bukhari	Muslim
132	...	K. 43 fada'il, B. fadl 'Isa, No. 3
133	K. 64 maghazi, B. 70 wafd bani Hanifah, No. 3; + K. 91 ta'bir, B. 40 annafkh fi'l-manam	K. 42 ru'ya, B. ru'ya an-nabi, No. 5
137	...	K. 32 jihad wa siyar. B. hukm al-fai', No. 1

§ 94. A more patient and painstaking research may bring to light some more traditions of Hamman, lying incorporated in the works of al-Bukhari and Muslim, related on the authority of Hamman himself, leaving aside such traditions as are common to Hamman on the one hand and to al-Bukhari or/and Muslim on the other, and latter sources quoting them on authorities other than Hamman. (I am thankful to Prof. Yusufuddin for some of the references of Bukhari and Muslim given above).

§ 95. Anyhow, the above list of parallel narrations shows that out of 137 (plus one not found in our MSS. yet cited in the relevant section of the Musnad of Ahmad ibn Hanbal), as many as 99 are drawn by al-Bukhari and Muslim: 29 are cited by both, 22 others only by al-Bukhari, and 48 by Muslim only. As far as Muslim is concerned, it is worth pointing out, that he cites these traditions generally in the following words: "Ma'mar related Hadith to us, on the authority of Hamman ibn Munabbih, who said: this is the Hadith related to us by Abu Hurairah, from the Messenger of God, — and he related a number of Hadith of which is the following — 'and the Messenger of God said:.....'"

§ 96. It is significant to note, when compar-

ing the work of Hammam with those of al-Bukhari and Muslim, that in spite of a gap of several centuries between them, and their being separated by generations of narrators, not a single word, much less the sense, of any of these traditions has changed. One has to bow with respect in face of such extraordinary scrupulousness and integrity.

§ 97. The table of parallel citations, which we have given above, is motivated by the desire to bring into relief one aspect of the question, and to quote a few cases as samples only. It has not been considered necessary to trace the traditions of Hammam in other sources, such as the *Jami'* of Ma'mar, *Musannaf* of 'Abd ar-Razzaq, or in the works of at-Tayalisi, Ibn Abi Shaibah, Ibn Rahu-yeh, Abu 'Uwanah and other precursors of al-Bukhari whose books have come down to us and who have cited these traditions on the authority of Hammam.

§ 98. There is however one point, which should not be left unnoticed in this connection. Here is a chain of the successive narrators of the traditions attributed to the Holy Prophet:

- al-Bukhari, — whose *al-Jami' as-Sahih* is printed,
- from Ahmad ibn Hanbal, — whose *Musnad* is also printed,
- " 'Abd ar-Razzaq, — whose *Musannaf* is now available in print,
- " Ma'mar ibn Rashid, — whose *Jami'* is printed along with the *Musannaf* of 'Abdur-Razzaq,
- " Hammam ibn Munabbih, whose *Sahifah* is presented hereby.

Supposing, al-Bukhari cites a Hadith on the authority of the above chain of sources. So long as these older sources were not available, a sceptic was certainly entitled to harbour doubts and say

that perhaps al-Bukhari had not told the truth, but simply forged either the chain or the contents or both. But now that all the earlier sources are at our disposal, there is no possibility of imagining that al-Bukhari had mentioned anything by way of forging it, or narrating anything heard from forgerers; on the contrary the whole chain of successive narrators and exhaustive sources, mounting from him up to the apex of an event bears the hall-mark of reality and fact. With the discovery in recent times of these earlier works, it is now possible for us to verify the truthfulness of each. One is forced to recognize them all as solidly genuine, and what glorious records of authenticity do they not prove to be!

§ 99. It is obvious, that the MSS of Hammam cannot be collated with the compilations of al-Bukhari and others who reproduce only partially the work of Hammam (Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Ibn Kathir excepted): the most we can do is to glean traditions mentioned by them in different chapters common to the *Sahifah* of Hammam. The case is different with Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who has transcribed in his *Musnad* the entire *Sahifah* of Hammam, without interfering with its arrangement. A comparison with this latter work reveals that:

1. There is the same order of contents in the MSS of Hammam and in the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, except for traditions Nos. 13, 93, 126 and 138, which are simply transposed, but the wording remains absolutely unchanged. This may be attributed to the copyists.
2. In the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal, there is a short five-worded Hadith which is wanting in our MSS of Hammam, (see below, footnote to the translation of Hadith No. 14/a). On the contrary, Hadith No. 3 and 5 of the

MSS of Hammam are omitted in the **Musnad** of Ibn Hanbal. Our information is based on the two editions of the **Musnad**, (which have numerous printing mistakes); and one does not know to which of the intermediary transmitters should this omission be attributed.

3. Our MSS of Hammam repeat the sentence "and he called war a ruse", both in the traditions 29 and 40; in the **Musnad** of Ibn Hanbal, this is mentioned only once, in No. 40, and it does not recur in No. 29. Is this a correction or an error, we are unable to decide.
4. In some minor details, which do not in any way affect the real import of the Hadith, there are observed some occasional differences of reading, for example, in some the word 'God' is followed by the polite and respectful 'Exalted is He', and in others. "Powerful and Majestic is He". In the same way, in some, the word "Prophet" is used; while in others the equivalent "Messenger of God", or the personal name "Abu'l-Qasim", which are all interchangeable, creating no difference in sense.
5. There could be some trivial variants which might creep into manuscript copies of a book. Thus the differences found between the Damascus MS and the Berlin MS correspond to the variants between the MSS and the **Musnad** of Ibn Hanbal. Editors of old texts are accustomed to them, and these variants in the case of the present work do not affect the sense anywhere. Such variants have all been noted in the foot-notes in their appropriate places.

§ 99/a. Of the authors other than Ibn Hanbal



who have reproduced the **Sahifah** in toto, we shall speak later under § 118/b and 118/d.

### **Isnad or Chain of Sources.**

§ 100. Modern scholars quote, in learned works, the sources of important statements of facts. But even in the most carefully documented works, there are two drawbacks: (a) In case of published works, there is little or no possibility of verifying whether there are any misprints or other inaccuracies; — this would not happen if one were to depend on a work only after hearing from the author himself, or obtaining a copy certified by the author, or — in case of old works, — by those who have had the opportunity of hearing it from the author, or his authorized transmitter. (b) One is contented now-a-days with one's immediate source, without much caring to trace the preceding sources of that source, and mounting in seriatim up to the eye-witness of the event. In Hadith works the case has been different.

§ 101. From the earliest times, the characteristic trait of Muslim historians, — and what is Hadith if not the material of the history of the time of the Prophet of Islam?,<sup>1</sup> — and other narrators has been to quote exhaustively the sources of their information, and the sources of such sources, mounting up to the person who had originally witnessed the incident with his own eyes or heard a speech with his own ears. The late Prof. Muhammad Zubair Siddiqi, of the University of Calcutta, has written an interesting article in this connection, showing how

1. That this has always been understood so, may be borne witness to by the fact that the complete title of the compilation of Bukhari reads: "the abridged authentic compendium, attested by exhaustive chain of sources, regarding the affairs of the Messenger of God as well as those of his times" (al-Jami as-sahih al-musnad al mukhtasar min umur rasuli'llah wa aiyamih).

this method (of not contenting oneself with the immediate source, but of tracing all the intermediaries between the narrator and the event) was originated by the Muslims, and that it had hardly been known to the peoples of older civilisations or to those even of the present day.<sup>2</sup>

§ 102. The *isnad* or chain of successive sources for the owner of the Damascus MS of the **Sahifah of Hammam** is the following: Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Bandahi (panj-dehi), from Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Isfahani, from 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Muhammad ibn Mindah, from his father Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Mindah, from Muhammad ibn al-Husain al-Qattan, from Ahmad ibn Yusuf as-Sulami, from 'Abd ar-Razzaq ibn Hammam ibn Nafi', from Ma'mar ibn Rashid, from Hammam ibn Munabbih, from Abu Hurairah, from the Holy Prophet — the whole chain extending over a period of five hundred and seventy-five years.

§ 103. But man is liable to error, and apparently by the inadvertence of the copyist, an intermediate name has been omitted. For the fourth of these eleven links, Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Mindah is represented as having heard the work read out to him by Muhammad ibn al-Husain al-Qattan. But the fact is that Ibn Mindah was born in 310 H./922 when his alleged teacher al-Qattan had already died some eight years previously in 302 H./914.<sup>3</sup> It is evident that the two could not have stood in the relationship of the teacher and the taught. The link connecting Ibn Mindah and al-Qattan is missing.

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2. cf. p. 43 to 55 of his Arabic paper **as-Sair wal-Hathith fi ta'rikh tadwin al-Hadith**, read at and printed in the proceedings of the Da'irat al-Ma'arif Conference, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1358 H./1939.

3. as-Sam'ani, **Ansab**, § Qattan.

§ 104 It looks as if this was an error in copying and that a whole line had escaped the eye of the scribe; and the reason why the error was not detected must have been this, that in this line there was only one name, a single link in the chain of **Isnad**. Further this line and the line following accidentally began with similar words, and as a result one whole line was skipped over by the scribe.

§ 105. What supports this hypothesis is the fact that, as 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Mindah received his education from his father and transmitted the **Sahifah** of Hammam, so did Muhammad ibn al-Husain al-Qattan teach his son the **Sahifah** and transmitted him the Hadith. This is testified to by a statement of as-Sam'ani in his biographical dictionary **Kitab al-Ansab** (s.v. Qattan). It may therefore be concluded that the real reading of the above-mentioned **isnad** must have been: "related to us by my father the Imam Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ishaq. He said: related to us [Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn al-Husain al-Qattan. He said: related to us my father the Imam]<sup>1</sup> Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Husain....."

§ 106. It may be noted that immediately after "Muhammad ibn Ishaq' comes the word: 'Abu Ishaq'. Again the words 'related to us my father the Imam' are repeated consecutively in two lines. It is easy to understand why the eye of the scribe played tricks and it is not his fault if none else has detected the omission later. In this chain were not one or two but a whole list of twelve names in number and if by chance one name

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1. The passage in the square brackets seems to have been the content of the line omitted inadvertently by the copyist of the MS.

is left out, the real text of the book or the Hadith is not affected.

§ 107. But when was this error committed? It seems possible to answer this question. This error is found not only in the Damascus MS but also in the Berlin MS and the *isnads* in both meet at the name of 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Muhammad ibn Mindah and then proceed identically as has been shown above (§ 91.) It looks as if the error had crept into the MS that was prepared for 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Mindah.

§ 108. That this is an error of detail of formality so to say, and that it does not affect in any way the main text is proved also by the fact that about two hundred years prior to the commitment of this error, the whole of this text had been preserved in his turn by another author, Ahmad ibn Hanbal; and today as we compare both sources — the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Hanbal and the MS of the *Sahifah* of Hammam, — we find that they are identical. It becomes established that the error of the scribe did in no wise affect the original book. While the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal proves that the traditionists of the centuries that followed him did not fail in the least in honestly maintaining the correctness of the *Sahifah* of Hammam, the newly discovered MSS of the same *Sahifah* in their turn make it certain also that Ibn Hanbal had preserved the *Sahifah* of Hammam with all scruples that govern scholarly truth and integrity. He could not have dreamt that eleven and a half centuries after his death, there could be held an investigation into the truthfulness and integrity of his scholarly work. He has been found to be strictly accurate in respect of the *Sahifah* of Hammam and there is no reason in the world why he should have been fraudulent as far as the other parts of his *Musnad* are concerned.

§ 109. Hammam ibn Munabbih died in 101 H/719. He must have obtained possession of this *Sahifah* prior to 58 H./677, the date of Abu Hurairah's death. And now in 1372 H/1953,<sup>1</sup> even after the lapse of more than 13 centuries there has not crept in a single alteration in the text of the collection: everything has been maintained intact. It stands to reason therefore that in the short period<sup>2</sup> intervening between the hearing of these sayings from the lips of the Prophet and their being written down by Abu Hurairah, there should have been no change made or alteration effected. More so since these traditions have been transmitted not only by Abu Hurairah, but, independently of him, by other Companions of the Prophet too, and in each case the chain of *isnad* has been different. Some traditions have been related by several of the Companions, and all report the same fact. If there had been no risk of boredom or a fear of too lengthy an exposition, it would have been easy to show in proper detail, how, in addition to Abu Hurairah, each of the traditions contained in the *Sahifah* of Hammam has been related by various other Companions, by what means each has come down to us, and how each is supported and corroborated by others. Under conditions such as these, there can hardly be any fear of any textual fraudulence on the part of Abu Hurairah, since several Companions from their independent memory relate the same words of the discourse of the Prophet, and each reporter has transmitted his version independently of the others. These traditions could never have been forged in the 3rd or 4th century of the Hijrah by al-Bukhari, Muslim or other au-

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1. Date of the first Arabic edition of this work in Damascus.
  2. Perhaps of a few hours only.

thors of the Six Canonical Collections of the Hadith, but have in fact been incorporated by them in their books in view of the fact that these traditions were preserved and transmitted from the earliest times, with a sense of complete honesty and reliability.

§ 110. These are facts which cannot but impress the mind of any scholar and confirm our trust and reliance on the books of Hadith in general.

### Description of the MSS.

§ 111. At the time of our last edition, we disposed of only two MSS of the **Sahifah** of Hammam and, in addition to them, the **Musnad** of Ibn Hanbal in its first edition (of al-Halabi). For the present edition we possess four MSS of the **Sahifah**, and also a new edition of Ibn Hanbal (which though not yet complete, has nevertheless reached the part where our **Sahifah** is found; it is affirmed that it is based on several MSS, yet without noting the variants). At the time when we write these lines (Shauwal 1397), we have not yet been able to consult personally another source, viz. the volume VII of Ibn Kathir's **Jami 'al-Mas-**

**nid wa's-Sunan**, MS of Cairo, ب/ 23673. in which the chapter on Abu-Hurairah contains also the **Sahifah** of Hammam. A short account of our sources will not be out of place:

§ 112. (a) **The Berlin MS.** This copy bears No. 1384 WE 1797, in the catalogue of Arabic MSS of Berlin. This collection existed in the State Library (Staatsbibliothek) of Berlin, till previous to the second world war of 1939. In the course of the war, it was sent to the city of Tübingen, as a measure of safety, and it is still existing there today (1977). The **Sahifah of Hammam** forms part of a volume of collected tracts. It begins there at fol. 54 and continues until fol. 61, extending over 8 leaves.



In between, in two places a leaf is missing, the whole having originally 10 folios. The size is 12.5 x 17.5 centimeters. Each page has 19 lines, and each tradition begins with the words 'wa qal' (and he said) transcribed in red ink. At the time of my visit to Berlin, I had copied the whole with my own hands, and I added the following colophon to my copy (in Arabic):

"Muhammad Hamidullah copied this word for word on the day of 'Arafah and a day previous in the year 1351 H. from the original text preserved in the State Library of the Government of Prussia at Berlin, and collated it with the original to the best of his ability."

§ 113. Apart from the two missing leaves, the Berlin MS is not the original certified copy, used as text by some accredited teacher, but merely a copy made out of a certified text. For the transcript Ibrahim ibn Sulaiman says: I copied it on the morning of Monday 17th Rabi al-Auwal 1100, from a text in the writing of Ismail ibn Ibrahim ibn Juma'ah dated Friday 16th Rabi' al-Auwal 856.

§ 114. We began our humble research by referring to Brockelmann,<sup>1</sup> and we were sorry to

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1. His German GAL (or History of Arabic Literature) is really a catalogue of catalogues, and not what the name would imply. In seven thick volumes of about 5,000 closely printed pages, full of abbreviations, he mentions all the known Arabic works, giving precisions about the libraries where the MSS of each of them are now preserved as also the dates of all known editions. As the work has two indexes, of the names of authors and of the titles of works, alphabetically arranged, it was not thought necessary to cite the volume and page and line here, since it changes from one edition to

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find that he has committed many errors of oversight. He has not mentioned this **Sahifah** under the name of Hammam ibn Munabbih, in spite of the fact that the MS was preserved in Berlin, and bore on the very first page, on the title: "**Sahifah Hammam ibn Munabbih.**" We made a long research, and luckily though by mere chance, found that he has ascribed this **Sahifah** to 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Mindah (d. 473 H./1082), and added: "Among his works is the Sahifah of Hammam ibn Mindah (sic) ,who died in 151 H./748 (sic) which has been transmitted from Abu Hurairah, who died in 58 H./677."

§ 115. This error is found not only in the first edition of his GAL, but recurs in the Supplement and again in the revised edition of the 1st volume. He writes "Hammam ibn Mindah", even though the name is Hammam ibn **Munabbih**. In the same manner, he has erred in the date of the death. The correct date is 101 H., and not 151. (One could understand if he had given the date 131, as we have mentioned above, cf 89 and note). In ascribing this work to 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Mindah, he has committed a greater blunder. 'Abd al-Wahhab was at one time merely a transmitter, an accredited teacher of this **Sahifah**, and never its author.

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another. See either under **Sahifah** or under 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Muhammad ibn Mindah (first volume, first Supplement volume, and revised edition of the first volume). My Urdu (amalgamated) translation of this GAL, for the Osmania University, may or may not have been destroyed during the Hyderabad revolution of 1948. There is also a project of its Arabic translation. At the moment I do not know if it has been realized, after the publication of a few fascicules in the sixties.

§ 116. (b) **The Damascus MS.** The Damascus copy is as superior to its sister of Berlin as the brilliant sun to the moon with its borrowed light. For unlike the Berlin MS, it is a copy used by accredited teachers in the course of their lessons teaching this book. It is preserved in the Zahiriyyah library, (Majmu'ah 25/2). Prof. Muhammad Zubair Siddiqi of Calcutta spoke to me of its existence, and I obtained a photostat copy through the kindness of Dr. Salahuddin Munajjed. To both these are owed my thanks and the thanks of all those who should profit by the publication of this book.

§ 117. The Damascus MS is also a part of a volume containing a number of tracts, but is distinguished by the fact that it is complete in itself. It is older than the Berlin MS, by virtue of the date of its transcription, for it dates from the 6th century of the Hijrah/12th century of Christian era. In the capacity of an original text that was made use of in teaching and for purposes of being listened to, it bears a number of endorsements or certificates of how permission was granted for its utilization. Among others, Ibn 'Asakir, the author of the celebrated History of Damascus was one who gave lessons using this very MS. It is beautifully transcribed although the scribe has inserted no diacritical points in a number of places. A page has from 21 to 23 lines. The photostat copy with me has the same dimensions as the Berlin MS. The Damascus copy has been transcribed on the basis of an Egyptian MS, during the period of the wars of the Crusades. From the perusal of the attestations of reading-listening contained in the MS, we learn the habits and etiquettes that were observed by Muslim scholars of higher teaching, even during the troubled times of wars and upheavals. But one need not dilate on that here.

§ 118. In both the MSS, the scribes have noted in the margin certain variants in transmission of the text, to wit:

- No. 19    **اؤخر** (postpone), or **ادخر** (stock up for future use).
- No. 31    **ترکتکم** (I should leave you alone), or **ترکتکم** (you should be left alone).
- No. 58    **یحییونک** (the reply they shall give thee [to thy greetings], or **یحییونک** (they shall greet thee).
- No. 58    **فزادوا** (they added), or **فزادوه** (they added to it).
- No. 83    **بطعام** (the meal), or **بطامامکم** (your meal).

These variant readings do not produce, in their respective contexts, any change in the sense: We find some of these variants noted also in the margin of the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal. It would have been possible in the new (Shakir's) edition of this work to note all the variants, since he disposed of several MSS. But unfortunately, this has not been done. Their existence in the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal testifies to their old age. Probably they come down from the time of Ma'mar, for he had not heard the whole of the *Sahifah* from Hammam's lips: as pointed out, in the beginning, Hammam himself read the book out, but when on account of his old age he got fatigued, his pupil Ma'mar read out the remainder of the text from his own copy—while Hammam listened, — in order to obtain the usual certificate of authorization of transmitting the text. It may be that due to old age he could not devote



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sufficient attention to the matter read out to him. Defects in the old Arabic script used to be controlled by means of collation, through reading in the presence of or listening to an accredited custodian of the text. These conditions are always subject to human infirmities, and the ancient Muslims knew how to remedy it.

### c) The Cairo MS.

§ 118/a. In the Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyah, under N° "Hadith 1981, 2126/1921" there is a MS of our *Sahifah*, which has come as a gift of as-Saiyid Husam al-Husami. The late Prof. Tayyib Okic, when he was at the university of Ankara (he died as professor at the university of Erzurum in March 1977) made me a very generous gift of his personal photographed copy of this MS of Cairo. These photos do not permit to say if they concern a separate volume or come from a collection of several tracts in the same volume. There are 12 pages, with 17 or 18 lines on each. The writing looks like Andalusian, but very clear. The colophon is dated from "the last decade of the month of Jumada al-Ula anno 537 H., at Mosul" and its contents had been read before a certain Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Yasar al-Andalusi. On the title page also there is a note of reading-hearing of a certain Nasr ibn Sa'd ibn 'Abd ar-Razzaq. Parts of the leafs are damaged, and so the first words of certain lines have disappeared. The result of the collation with other MSS will be given in the critical apparatus of the Arabic text. It is to point out that this Cairo MS has resemblances with the text preserved by Ibn Hanbal. It is a good MS.

### d) MS of Istanbul

§ 118/b. I came to know of this MS through a colleague of mine in the university of Istanbul, (who is

now at Frankfurt am Main), Mr Fuat (: Fuad) Sezgin, and I thank him sincerely. It forms part of a big volume of collected tracts, in the Shahid 'Ali Pasha section of the Suleymanie Genel Kutuphanesi, under No. 539. There our work is on fol. 108/a to 141/a. (With this pagination, one may imagine that there are 34 folios, but in fact there are 35 leafs, because in the pagination, which is recent, the number 139 is repeated by error on two consecutive leafs. Further on the last leaf, instead of 141, one has written 138). On the above-mentioned folios there is a book called :

كتاب السرد والفرد في صحائف الاخبار ونسخها المنقولة عن  
سيد المرسلين صلوات الله وسلامه عليه

whose compiler is a certain Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn Isma'il al-Qazwini. In his introduction to the work he says: "This is a work which includes several *sahifahs* and *nuskahs* (tracts), each of which we have obtained containing numerous traditions reported from our Prophet — may God incline to him and preserve him—but narrated by a single chain, which fact facilitates the task of the student of Hadith who would like to learn it by heart (along with the chain of narrators of each Hadith). And I have named it : *Kitab as-Sard wa'l- Fard* (the book of Series and Single One), and I mean thereby 'series of numerous traditions reported by a single chain of narrators'. And the first we begin with is the *Sahifah* of Hammam ibn Munabbih. Informed us (*akhbarana*) Abu Muhammad al-Muwaffaq b. Sa'id b. al-Muwaffaq an-Nisaburi, while I read it out (and he listening and controlling), in Jumada al-Ula anno 534 H., and authorized us also by correspondence Abu Nasr Muhammad b. 'Abdullah al-Arghiyani, both (masters)

saying: Informed us Abu 'Ali al-Hasan b. Abu'l-Qasim Muhammad b. Muhammad b. . . . (Muhammad?) b. Hamu. yeh as-Saffar, in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'dah anno 466 H.; Informed us Abu Sa'd 'Abd ar-Rahman b. Hamdan b. Muhammad . . . (blank) an-Nadrawi in the year 425 H. Informed us Abu Muhammad 'Abdullah b. Muhammad b. Ziyad as-Sindhi in the month of Rajab anno 366, Informed us the jurist, the practicing, Abu Muhammad 'Abdullah b. Muhammad b. 'Abd ar-Rahman b. Shiruyeh al-Madini, and also my maternal grand father Abu Muhammad Ahmad b. Ibrahim b. 'Abdullah b. Abu Nasr, both (masters) saying: Informed us Abu Ya'qub Is'haq b. Ibrahim b. Makhlad al-Hanzali al-Marvazi (= Ibn Rahuyeh), Informed us 'Abd ar-Razzaq b. Hammam b. Nafi' as-San'ani, Informed us Ma'mar, Informed us Hammam b. Munabbih, who said: This is what has transmitted to us Abu Hurairah from the Messenger of God . . . ." This document runs from fol. 108/b to fol. 116/b. Then come final remarks (*khatimah*), where the author gives interesting details on all successive narrators, extending over two pages. Thereafter follows (on fol. 117/b to 121/a) the *Sahifah of Kulthum* from 'Ata', from Abu Hurairah. And there too, at the end, there are informations on the narrators. The third chapter (on fol. 121/b to 124/a) is called the *Sahifah 'Abd ar-Razzaq*, from Ma'mar, from az-Zuhri, from Sa'id b. al-Musayyib, from Abu Hurairah; but biographical data are wanting in this case. For these three opuscles the teachers and the teachers of teachers of our author are the same, viz. al-Muwaffaq, as-Saffar, an-Nadri, as-Sindhi, etc. The fourth chapter (on fol. 124/b to 125/a) consists of the *Sahifah Humaid at-Tawil*, from Anas b. Malik. There the chain of narrators is quite different, but we need not go into details here. The fifth chapter (fol. 125/a to 126/a) is the *Sahifah* via descendants of the Prophet alone, reported by Is'haq b. Ja'far as-Sadiq from his father, from his grand-father and so on upto 'Ali. The sixth

Chapter (fol. 126/a to 127/b) is the **Sahifah al-Khadir wa Ilyas**. The seventh chapter (fol. 127/b to 130/b) is entitled **ar-Ruba'iyat Sahifah al-Ashajj 'an 'Ali**. The eighth chapter (fol. 130/b to 131/b) has the title **as-Suba'iyat Sahifah Khirash 'an Anas**. The ninth chapter (fol. 132/a to 134/a) consists of the **Sahifah 'Abd ar-Razzaq** from Ma'mar, from az-Zuhri, from Salim, from his father 'Abdullah b. 'Umar; naturally it is different from the 3rd chapter. The tenth and the last chapter (fol. 134/a to 140/b)—where the number of fol. 139 has been repeated on two successive leaves—is called **Sahifah Juwairiyah**, from Nafi', from 'Abdullah b. 'Umar. It is proper to insist particularly on the very important fact that the 2nd and the 3rd chapters of this MS contain two other collections of Hadith which we owe to the self same Abu Hurairah, and these two opuscles have also been transmitted, even as the *Sahifah Hammam b Munabbih*, by one common chain of narrators for the entire tract. This shows on the one hand that the method followed by Hammam b. Munabbih is not an isolated and exceptional fact, but that it has set an example which many others have followed; and on the other hand, the information (cf § 84 supra) that Abu Hurairah had compiled "a large number of books of Hadith" gets confirmed. The collation with other sources of the *Sahifah of Hammam* shows that in this MS of Istanbul, frequently it is not a transcription but rather a paraphrase or a brief commentary. The very method of citation is different: instead of "And the Messenger of God GIP said", normally it begins here: "And he (:Abu Hurairah) said that the Messenger of God GIP said". With the exception of this last particularity, we shall give the variants in our critical apparatus. Another curiosity is that the other sources of the *Sahifah* are practically identical as far as the arrangement of the contents, that is the sequence of the traditions is concerned, the only exception is the present MS of Istanbul, which reproduces the *Sahifah* by a

complete rearrangement. So the serial order of the Damascus MS is here as follows: "1, 61, wanting, 2, wanting, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 4, 5, 3, 68, 69, 71, 70, 72, 73, 6, 74, 79, 8, 80, 9, 81, 82, 83, 84, 60, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 10, 93, 11, 12, 13, 94, 95, 96, 14, 16, 97, 17, 99, 19, 100, 98, 18, 20, 101, 21, 22, 23, 24, 102, 25, 26, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, wanting, 27, 28, 110, 108, 109, 29, 30, 111, 31, 7, 113, 114, 115, 116, 112/117 cut into two, 32, 118, 33, 119, 120, 34, 121, 122, 123, 35, 36, 37, 124, 125, 38, 39, 126, 41, 127, 43, 44, 128, 45, 129, 130, 131, 132, 42, 133, 48, 49, 134, 135, 136, 77, 50, 51, 58, 78, 91, 54, 53, 55, 40, 56, 46, 47, 52, 59, 57, 75, 76, 15". Further the transcriber seems to have been an ignorant person, not knowing the Arabic language, and has left blanks in a number of places, false readings in others. One tradition, N° 84 of Damascus is cut into two uselessly, and three others, N° 3, 5 and 69 are completely lacking.

#### e) Musnad of Ibn Hanbal

§ 118/c. Even as al-Qazwini, the grand Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal has also amalgamated in his *Musnad* the entire *Sahifah Hammam ibn Munabbih*, such as it was, without any selections or modifications. We have already spoken of it above under § 91. We may bring here into relief the fact that the first edition of the *Musnad* at Cairo is dated from 1895/1313H. and is in 6 volumes; the second one was undertaken by an Egyptian scholar Ahmad Muhammad Shakir in 1949, and less than a third was published in 16 vols., till 1974. As he has died since, the last of these volumes was "completed and realized" by Mr al-Husaini Abdul-Majid Hashim of Cairo. What interests us here is that the part of the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal which contains the *Sahifah* of Hammam is found in this last, 16th volume which has come out recently in 1974. The preface affirms that this edition has been prepared on the basis of several MSS, of which one came from Riyadh, and an-

other from Rabat. Not disposed to follow modern methods, the edition is devoid of critical apparatus, and except in very rare cases one does not know what are the variant readings in the different MSS., a thing which is inevitable in handwritten copies. Shakir pretends (cf XVI, 20-21) that there are no — or almost no — printing mistakes in the old (Halabi) edition of the *Musnad*, yet he himself points out as much as ten of them in the sole nine pages of the old edition of the *Musnad* containing the *Sahifah* of Hammam (cf his notes on N° 8103, 8105, 8108, 8126, 8136, 8137, 8140, 8169, 8181, 8182 of his own new edition) and at least in five other cases Shakir has corrected the text of the old edition without mentioning that in a note in his new edition. Thus

N° 8134: عمره/من عمره<sup>8174</sup>, يلقيه/يلفته<sup>8137</sup>, تحرقا/يحرق<sup>8134</sup>,  
 8193: آثم/اتم<sup>8193</sup>, استجباهما/استجياهما<sup>8194</sup>, not to speak of the printing mistakes in his own edition. God forgive him and bless his soul.

f) The MS of Cairo Of Ibn 'Kathir's *Jaml'*

§ 118/d. The method of reproducing a book as it is in its totality in another book has been followed by the great savant Ibn Kathir also, who has amalgamated our *Sahifah* in his *Jami' al-Masanid wa's-Sunan*, of which an incomplete MS in 7 vols., is preserved in the Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyah of Cairo, as mentioned above. Another fragment is in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin (actually in Tübingen, N° 1344), as Brockelmann mentions. In spite of our efforts, we have not been able till writing these lines to consult them personally. However a very dear friend in Cairo, Mr Salahuddin Muhammad Aiyub—to him I am very grateful—informs that the N° of the MS in another catalogue is 184, and that it is in 8 vols., that the *Sahifah Hammam* is found there in the 8th vol., on fols. 195/a to 202/b, and that the whole



volume, which is incomplete and defective, has 268 fols. He promises to send me later a handwritten copy of the text of the *Sahifah*. I thank him in anticipation.

P. S.

Under § 118/d we have mentioned the existence of the *Sahifah* of Hammam as a chapter in the *Jami' al-Masaniid* of Ibn Kathir. Mr Aiyub has taken unbelievable troubles and pains kindly to copy it for me. Ibn Kathir's 'Musnad of Abu Hurairah' seems to be an extraction from the Musnad of Ibn Hanbal, for we see him quoting 'Abdullah, son and narrator of Ibn Hanbal under traditions N° 111 and 113 of our *Sahifah* (N° 8210 and 8211 of the Musnad Ibn Hanbal). However he has rearranged the contents of the *Mushad* of Abu Hurairah, according to the pupils and narrators of Abu Hurairah. So in the section of the traditions reported by Hammam from Abu Hurairah, there are narrations on the authority of Sufyan, 'Abd ar-Razzaq, 'Attab, Ibrahim ibn Khalid, Yahya ibn Adam etc.

I am tempted to quote the second Hadith of the Musnad, which has some biographical data on Hammam ibn Munabbih:

"Related Hadith to us 'Abd ar-Razzaq orally, saying: gave information to us 'Aqil, from (his uncle) Hammam ibn Munabbih who said: I came to Madinah and saw a circle near the pulpit of the Prophet — God incline to him and take him in His safeguard—and on my question it was told (to me) that it was Abu Hurairah's. I then saluted him, and he said: Who art thou? I said: Of the people of Yemen! He replied: I have heard the Prophet--or: heard Abu'l-Qasim--may God incline to him and take him in His safeguard, saying: 'The Faith is Yemenite, and the Wisdom is Yemenite. These people have very refined hearts, whereas roughness is among the conductors of beasts, owners of camels', and he made a sign with his hand towards the East."

Hammam must have come to Madinah before 58 H., when Abu Hurairah died. The intimacy between the master and the pupil increased, and Abu Hurairah dictated him one day a whole brochure, which has come later to be known as Sahifah of Hammam.

Ibn Kathir cites it directly on the authority of 'Abd ar-Razzaq, who had died several centuries before him. Has he omitted the chain of narrators linking him with 'Abd ar-Razzaq (through Ibn Hanbal) or has he simply copied from a book? We do not know. However the reports N° 3, 5, 23, 112, and 131 are lacking in the MS; some are displaced, so 6, 8, 10, 9, 7; 11, 14, 12, 13, 15; 94, 93, 95; 101, 137, 102; 126, 125, 127. As to report N° 70, it is cut into two, partly after 69, and partly after 136. We have the impression that the MS has not been copied by a scholar; so there are defects of decipherments.

Partly because the MS seems to have been extracted from Ibn Hanbal, and partly because it is not an authenticated copy, we need perhaps not quote the "variants".

### Ban on Writing down Hadith.

§ 119. As has been mentioned above (§ 47-48), there exist certain traditions reporting either the sayings of the Holy Prophet or the opinions of some of his Companions, purporting to be an injunction against the writing down the Hadith. The discussion would be incomplete without elucidating this point.

§ 120. The most important report in this connection is that of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri,<sup>1</sup> who attributes this saying to the Prophet :

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1. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Taqyid al-Ilm*, (ed. Damascus 1949), p. 29-32; and according to the editor of the same work, also by Ibn Qutaibah, *Mukhtalif al-Hadith* p. 365; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, III, 31; *Kitab al-Masahif* (of Ibn Abi Dawud ?), fol. 2b; ad-Darimi, *Sunan*, I, 119(ch. 42)

“Do not take down (what you hear) from me except the Qur’an. Whoever has taken down (what he has heard) from me anything other than the Qur’an, let him efface it.”

Some authors would cite it, but the judicious al-Bukhari would not find it worthy of confidence, according to his rigorously scientific criterium, as we are assured by Ibn Hajar (Fat’h al-Bari, I, 218). The same tradition has been reported by Abu Hurairah<sup>1</sup> also. The above-mentioned Abu Sa’id al-Khudri reports another incident,<sup>2</sup> to wit: “I asked the Holy Prophet for permission to write down the Hadith, but he refused.” The same report has the following version in the *Sunan* of ad-Darimi: <sup>3</sup> “Some people asked the Holy Prophet for authorization to write down (things heard) from him, but he refused.” Yet another report from the same personality is as positive, but leaves the door open. He says: <sup>4</sup> “We did not use to write down anything except the Qur’an and the **tashahhud**.<sup>5</sup>”

§ 121. The narration of Zaid ibn Thabit<sup>6</sup> is as follows: “The Messenger of God ordered us not to write down anything of his Hadith.”

§ 122. In none of these reports, apparently concerning one and the same event, is the occasion or con-

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1. Al-Haithami, *Majma az-Zawa'id*, I, 151 (cited by the editor of *Taqyid*, as above).

2. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Taqyid al-'Ilm* (ed. Damascus 1947), p. 32-33; at-Tirmidhi, *Sunan*, 39 : 12 (K. 'Ilm, B. karahiyat al-'ilm).

3. Muqaddimah, ch. 42.

4. Abu Dawud, 24 : 3 (K. 'Ilm, B. fi kitab al-'ilm).

5. “Tashahhud” or the invocation of the Divine presence is the concluding part of the service of prayer. It is not in the Qur’an, but prescribed by the Prophet, therefore a Hadith!

6. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Taqyid al-'Ilm*, p. 35.

text of the injunction precisely stated. A saying bereft of the context may sometimes create a funny situation. We know the famous joke resulting from this kind of quoting incompletely the words of the Qur'an (4:43): "Draw not near unto the service of prayer".

§ 123. The above reports do not explain the occasion, but since we find mention of the name of Abu Hurairah, we have a clue for determining the epoch. Abu Hurairah embraced Islam in the year 7 H., at the time of the battle of Khaibar, having just arrived from Yemen.<sup>1</sup> It is also known, that in the year 3 H., when Abu Sa'id al-Khudri and Zaid ibn Thabit offered themselves as volunteers for taking part in the battle of Uhud, the Prophet rejected their offer, in view of their tender age (of ten to twelve years).<sup>2</sup> Another incident reported by Abu Hurairah,—although an intermediary transmitter, 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Zaid is considered rather weak,—seems to shed some light on the problem. He says: "The Messenger of God came out of his room (one day) when we were busy writing the Hadith. He said: 'What are you writing?' We said: 'We are writing the Hadith which we have heard from thee.' He said: 'Do you want a book other than the Book of God? The communities before you were not led astray but because of their writing books [on religion] other than the Book of God'." A second version of this same report supplements: "Abu Hurairah added: "Thereupon we collected all those documents in an open-air space and set fire to them." Yet another version is analogous, and precises: "Ah! a book to keep company with the Book of God! Keep pure the book of God, and let it be unpolluted."<sup>3</sup> One more

1. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'ab*, § Kuna, No. 375.

2. al-Maqrizi, *Imtā' al-Asma'*, I, 119.

3. For all these versions, see al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Taqyid al-Ilm*, p. 33-34; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, III, 12-13.

report of Abu Hurairah transmitted by the above-mentioned 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Zaid, says: "The Holy Prophet heard that some persons had written down his sayings. Thereupon he ascended the pulpit (in the mosque) and, after the (usual) prologue in praise of God, said: 'What are these books which I understand that you are writing? I am a human being. If anybody has anything of that kind, let him bring (it to me)'."<sup>1</sup>

§ 124. All these reports seem to show that in the year 7 H./628, or sometime after it, one day the Prophet pronounced a very important and unusually interesting discourse, — may be on previsions and predictions of the future successes of Islam, of which there is an echo in the traditions Nos. 22 to 25, 29, 125 and 127 of the present **Sahifah**;— a shipload of people had just then come from Yemen and embraced Islam, and complained of the insecurity and the antipathy felt in their country against Islam, whereupon the Prophet praised the zeal of the Yemenites and predicted that soon Yemen and many other countries would know the *pax Islamica*. Some of these Yemenites knew reading and writing. They were provided with copies of the chapters of the Qur'an, to read and learn them by heart. When these people heard the discourse in question, they devoutly wanted to note down that too, and some of them finding the marginal blank space in the copies of their Qur'an, transcribed there the discourse of the Prophet; — hence perhaps the directive: "purify the Book of God and keep it unpolled."<sup>2</sup> Naturally enough it was feared that these new converts might mix up the texts and confound

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1. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *op. cit.*, p. 34-35.

2. Similar is the constant saying of the caliph 'Umar "keep the Qur'an stripped up of everything else". Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, VI, 2.

the Hadith [with the Qur'an, both being in the same language.

§ 125. If our conjecture is right and if the matter relates to predictions, it is obvious that in case things seen by the Prophet in the invisible world and related to God's previsions for the future, should be left to the understanding of the common people, these would begin to rely on predestination and lose incentive. Furthermore, there is a great difference between Revelation and the peep by the eye of the spirit into the invisible world of God's determinations, that only intelligent people can grasp. The images of things seen in that invisible world by the Prophet are undoubtedly authentic, yet they cannot be taken literally: they are things requiring interpretation and divination, just like things seen in dreams which bear special meaning and internal sense.

§ 126. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the same Abu Hurairah,—who has reported the saying of the Prophet about the interdiction of writing down the Hadith, and who is known as a puritan, literalist, a man of rather extremist temperament, demanding always the strict observance of the sayings of the Prophet even in their literal sense,—had himself written down “a large number of books on Hadith”, as we have cited above (cf § 84). Had the interdiction of the Prophet been formal, perpetual and all-round, and not for a particular occasion, or a temporary affair, it is unthinkable that a man of the temperament of Abu Hurairah should have himself written book after book.

§ 127. The same is true of Ibn 'Abbas. He belongs likewise to the group of young boys during the



life time of the Prophet. It is reported<sup>1</sup> that he too had given expression to the opinion that the Hadith should not be put into writing, yet we have seen above (cf § 70) how he surpassed others in the compilation of a huge number of books.

§ 128. The taste for letters had just begun among the Muslim Arabs through the impetus given to learning by Islam. The Qur'an was the first prose work ever compiled and put down in writing in Arabic. The discourses of the Prophet were also in the same language and bore the same style. The Qur'an was in the process of revelation, and the Arabs in the course of conversion to Islam. The Qur'an had not yet taken root in the minds of the masses, so that its phrases, even when mixed up with other writings, could at once be distinguished, — as is the case today in the Muslim world, — even as oil mingled with water.

§ 129. As a corollary and necessary concomitant of this, it may be pointed out that the handwriting of the time was generally clumsy, and had a long way to go. I venture to suggest one more aspect. It is doubtful whether the Arabic script was known at all in Yemen. Abrahah is a contemporary of the Prophet, and his inscriptions in Yemen are in the *musnad* or Himyarite script, not Arabic, much less Ethiopian. (Did Abu Hurairah know Arabic script when he came to Medinah?) As to Medinah, there are references<sup>2</sup> to the effect that it was the Jews in this town who taught writing to the neighbouring Arab boys. Is it not possible that Abu Sa'id al-Khudri and Zaid ibn Thabit knew originally the Hebrew writing (to employ it for the Arabic langu-

1. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Taqyid al-'ilm*, p. 36-40.

2. Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 473.

age), and that the introduction of the Arabic, Meccan, script dates from the battle of Badr, when prisoners of war ransomed themselves by teaching writing to Muslim boys of Medinah, as we have mentioned above? (§ 20).

§ 130. The desire for safeguarding the integrity and exactitude of the Qur'an could have easily induced the Prophet to take precautionary measures as occasions and circumstances would require. These would by their very nature be temporary measures.

§ 131. It may be noted that if we have, on the one hand, these sayings relating to interdiction, we have also traditions authorising the writing down of Hadith. We have cited above that the frontiers of the City-State of Medinah had been fixed in writing by the Prophet, and this document was conserved by Rafi' ibn Khadij. This same Companion of the Prophet reports: "We said: 'O Messenger of God! we hear many things from thee. May we write them down?' He said: 'Write them; there is no harm'."

§ 132. We have just referred (§ 51) to the fact that 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As used to write down the Hadith. How he started doing it is explained by him. He says: "I came to the Holy Prophet and said: 'O Messenger of God, I want to relate to others what thou sayst. Therefore I want to seek help from my mind as well as from the writing of my hand, provided that is also thy opinion.' The Prophet replied: 'If it is so, then memorize my Hadith, and thereafter take aid of thy hand along with thy mind'."

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1. al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *op. cit.*, 72-73. cf also *supra* § 52 n.

2. ad-Darimi, *Sunan*, Muqaddimah, ch. 43 (B. man rakhkhas fi kitabat al-'ilm).

§ 133. The idea underlying all this seems to have been that nothing false or inexact should be attributed to the Prophet. There was possibility of error and forgetfulness both in memorising and writing a text. Within the bonds of human capacity, the way to escape errors of the kind is that both these methods should be employed simultaneously, so that if by chance there is a defect in one, the help taken from the other could rectify it.

§ 134. A further precautionary method is the obligation of reading-listening, that is to say the collation of the written copy with the original document, in the presence of the author or other accredited specialist of the original document. Its importance was recognized very early, in the very time of the Companions of the Prophet. So "Hisham ibn 'Urwah says: My father asked me: 'Hast thou finished copying?' I replied: 'Yes.' He continued: 'Hast thou also collated?' I said: 'No.' Thereupon he remarked: 'Then it is as if thou hast not copied'."¹

§ 135. A technical reply to the discussion is furnished by Ibn al-Qaiyim: "It is true that some authentic traditions report the interdiction laid by the Prophet against writing down the Hadith, and others, the authorization to write. But the authorization is posterior. Therefore it would constitute an abrogation to the Hadith of interdiction."²

1. Manazir Ahsan Gilani, *Tadwin-e-Hadith* p. 199; al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, *Kifayah*, p. 231.

2. *Ikhtisar al-Mundhiri li-Sunan Abi Dawud*, V, 245-6, cited by the editor of the new edition of the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal, under No. 6510.

§ 136. **Conclusion:** When the existence of the contradictory orders of the Prophet—for and against writing down the Hadith—have caused no perplexity to the Companions of the Prophet, that need not perplex us either. Everything should be examined in its context, and the only aim should be to find out the truth and nothing but the truth, whatever the mode of security be. Had the interdiction by the Holy Prophet against taking down the Hadith been general and absolute, neither Abu Bakr nor ‘Umar could have remained unaware of it. We have seen above (cf § 59-60) that both these close companions of the Prophet had codified the Hadith or at least wanted to do that, — and although it is true that one of them effaced what he had already written, and the other abandoned the idea of codification, yet neither of these acts was based on the injunction on the part of the Prophet; — and this fact in itself is proof enough that the injunction against writing down the Hadith was neither general, nor all-embracing.

#### **Final Remarks.**

§ 137. In a comprehensive history of the codification and preservation of Hadith, one could show how information was collected from those who themselves had no aptitude for letters although possessing first hand knowledge of events in question, and how in this quest for knowledge (*talab al-‘ilm*) no stones were left unturned and no pains spared; how first individual memoirs were prepared, then local, regional and vaster compilations unified all the available data on the sayings and doings of the Holy Prophet; how several sciences were created to scrutinize the authenticity of the narrations, embracing methods of literary criticism. For instance there appeared specialized biographical dictionaries of the reporters of Hadith, noting the names of the teachers as well as pupils of each narrator (necessary for controlling the authenticity

of the chain of sources for each report), his memory and intelligence, his character and general reputation, etc. It is on the basis of both internal and external evidence that each single report is judged. Honesty and integrity of the narrators come first into consideration followed by the point whether the transmission from one generation to another was well established, so that no intermediary link should be missing. Attention was paid to the context, historical plausibility and similar matters. Since very early times importance was attached to authentication, in order to avoid hearsay evidence : one wanted to go to the fountain head or the original source. It is not true that the method of reading in the presence of, or listening to the accredited custodian of knowledge began several centuries after the time of the Prophet. In § 53, iv above, we have seen that this practice had begun in the life time of the Holy Prophet. For later times I shall quote two typical examples : Ad-Darimi has devoted a whole chapter in his *Sunan* to the question of collation (Bab fi'l-'ard).<sup>1</sup> The first report in this chapter says : " 'Asim al-Ahwal narrates, saying : I presented to ash-Sha'bi the traditions on legal matters, and he allowed me (to transmit) these (on his authority)'. Again, Ibn Hajar<sup>2</sup> quotes : "Ibn Juraij says : I took a book to az-Zuhri in view of collation in his presence, and told him : I have come to read it in your presence. Zuhri replied : I have promised to do that in the presence of the son of Sa'd ibn Ibrahim; and you know who is Sa'd (grand-son of 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn 'Awf)." Sha'bi and Zuhri are authors of late first century and early second century of the Hijrah. Professors began very early to sign books

1. *Sunan*, Muqaddimah, chap. 53.

2. Tahdhib at-Tahdhib, III, No 866 (p. 465, s.v. Sa'd ibn Ibrahim).

which they had taught to their pupils. Manuscripts of early Islamic centuries have practically all been destroyed by the Mongols during their invasion of Baghdad, and then by other peoples at the capture of Cordova and Grenada, and thereafter at that of Delhi in (1858). Among the rare exceptions is the *Nasab Quraish* of Mu'arrij as-Sadusi (d. 195 H /810-811). Although it is not a work on Hadith, but on general history; it has this importance that the educational methods observed in the teaching of this work must have in a more pre-eminent degree been observed in Hadith works of the same period. The MS. of *Nasab Quraish* was discovered by Prof. Ibrahim Kattani of the University of Rabat, and it is now preserved in the National Library and Archives of Rabat (MS. No. 99). The Government of Morocco have very kindly procured me as a gift the micro-films of this MS. It is dated "Friday, 6th Ramadan 252 H./866". On its title page there are several endorsements of collation. (As the work has been edited by Dr. Salahuddin al-Munajjed, I need not enter into details). The history of the preservation and transmission of the Hadith is a vast subject, which need not be treated exhaustively here.

138. Here we have dealt with only one aspect, to serve as an introduction to the edition of a MS. on Hadith, namely the history of the writing down of the Hadith in the life-time of the Prophet himself, or soon after, by those who had first-hand knowledge of the material. Recording, learning by heart, controlling the copies of those who were authorized to transmit further the same knowledge, quoting the source of each and every individual report were the methods adopted. There was no question of foreigners not knowing the customs and sentiments of the milieu concerned, but of indigenous scholars, sympathetic towards the subject, devout and pious in their approach and scrupulous to the extreme.



These were human beings no doubt, but if one were to compare the historical methods used for the time of the Prophet with the modern, — newspaper reports not exempt from willful misrepresentations, official documents intentionally misleading and ambiguous, historians suffering from insufficiency of documents, unverifiable statements, — the Hadith will prove to have come down to us in way that nothing more was humanly possible. Thus the *Sahifah* of Abu Hurairah, prepared for his pupil Hammam ibn Munabbih, constitutes a precious document, which not only belies many conjectures, but also conclusively proves what classical Muslim authors were capable of.



( أقدم تأليف في الحديث النبوى )

صحفية همام بن منبه

المولود سنة ١٥ (؟) والمتوفى سنة ١٠١ أو ١٠٢ للهجرة

تلميذ سيدنا ابي هريرة رضى الله عنه

( المتوفى سنة ٥٨ من الهجرة )

# بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مخطوطة

دمشق

ورقة

الأصل

الدمشقي

(١ / ب)

عونك اللهم

الحمد لله رب العالمين \* و الصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله أجمعين \*  
[حدثنا الشيخ الامام الأجل الأوحى الحافظ تاج الدين بهاء  
الاسلام بديع الزمان] (١) أبو عبد الله محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن  
محمد بن مسعود المسعودي البندهي (٢) و فقه الله و بصره بعيوب  
نفسه ، بقراءته علينا من أصل سماعه المنقول منه في المدرسة  
الناصرية الصلاحية خلد الله ملك واقفها في السادس والعشرين  
من ذي القعدة سنة سبع و سبعين و خمسمائة ، قال :  
أخبرنا الشيخ الثقة الصالح أبو الخير محمد بن أحمد بن محمد  
بن عمر المقدر الامصهاني قراءة عليه و أنا أسمع ، قال :

(١) لعل هذا من زيادة بعض المتأخرين فانه لا يطابق ما يسلي أى

« بصره بعيوب نفسه »

(٢) البندهي ، غير معجم في الأصل والنسبة الى پنج ده ، قرية بخراسان

أخبرنا (١) الشيخ أبو عمرو عبد الوهاب بن أبي عبد الله محمد ابن إسحق بن محمد بن يحيى بن منبه الإصبهاني ، قال :  
 أخبرنا والدي الإمام أبو عبد الله محمد بن إسحق ، قال :  
 أخبرنا [ ... ] (٢) أبو بكر محمد بن الحسين بن الحسن بن الخليل القَطَّان ، قال :  
 حدثنا أبو الحسن أحمد بن يوسف السلمي ، قال :  
 حدثنا عبد الرزاق بن همام بن نافع الحميري :  
 عن معمر :

عن همام بن مُنَبِّه ، قال :  
 هذا ما حَدَّثَنَا أبو هريرة ،

عن محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، قال :

١ - نحن الآخرون السابقون يوم القيامة  
 بيد أنهم أوتوا الكتاب من قبلنا ، وأوتيناه من  
 بعدهم . فهذا يومهم الذي فرض عليهم .  
 فاختلفوا فيه ، فهذا الله له . فهم لنا فيه تبع ، فاليهود

(١) من هنا يبدأ سند النسخة البرلينية بعد البسملة

(٢) يزداد ههنا كما ذكرنا في المقدمة : [ أبو إسحاق إبراهيم بن محمد بن الحسين القطان ، قال : أخبرنا والدي الإمام ] .

غداً ، والنصارى يعد غد .

٢ - وقال رسول الله ﷺ : مثلى و مثلى الأنبياء من قبلى كمثل رجل ابنى بيوتاً فأحسنها وأجملها و أكملها إلا موضع لبنة من زاوية من زواياها . فجعل الناس يطوفون ، و يعجبهم البنيان . فيقولون : ألا وضعت هاهنا لبنة ، فتم بناؤه ؟ فقال محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم : فانا اللبنة .

٣ - وقال رسول الله ﷺ : مثل البخيل والمتصدق (٢/آ) كمثل رجلين ، عليهما جبستان - أو جستان - من حديد الى ثدييهما ، أو الى تراقيهما . فجعل المتصدق كلما تصدق بشيء ، ذهبت عن جلده حتى تحن بنانه و يعفو أثره . و جعل البخيل كلما أنفق شيئاً ، أو حدث به نفسه ، عَضَّتْ كل حلقة مكانها ، فيوسعها و لا تتسع .

٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : مثلى كمثل رجل استوقد ناراً فلما أضاءت ما حولها ، جعل الفَرَّاش و هذه الدواب التى يقعن فى النار ، يقعن فيها ، و جعل يحجزهن ،

(٢) « بيوتاً ، فى مسلم بنى « داراً » .

رقم (٣) بهامش الدمشقية : سقط من أصل السماع كلمة « بنانه » ،

« عضت » فى فتح البارى عن همام « غاصت » .



و يغلبنه ، فيتقحمون فيها . فذاك مثلى و مثلكم : أنا آخذ بحجزكم  
عن النار : هلمّ عن النار ، هلمّ عن النار ، فتغلبوني تقحمون فيها .  
٥ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : فى الجنة شجرة  
يسير الراكب فى ظلها مائة عام ، لا يقطعها .

٦ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إياكم و الظن ؛  
إياكم و الظن ! فان الظن أكذب الحديث . ولا تناجشوا ،  
ولا تحاسدوا ، ولا تنافسوا ، ولا تباغضوا ولا تدابروا ، وكونوا  
عباد الله إخوانا .

٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : فى الجمعة ساعة  
لا يوافقها مسلم و هو يصلى يسأل ربه شيئاً إلا آتاه إياه .

٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : الملائكة  
يتعاقبون فيكم : ملائكة بالليل و ملائكة بالنهار ؛ و يجتمعون  
فى صلاة الفجر و صلاة العصر . ثم يعرج اليه الذين باتوا فيكم ،  
فيسألهم ، و هو أعلم بهم : كيف تركتم عبادى ؟ قالوا : تركناهم  
وهم يصلون ، و أتيناهم وهم يصلون .

٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : الملائكة  
تصلى على أحركم ما دام فى مصلاه الذى صلى فيه ، و تقول :

(٥) لا يذكر هذا الحديث فى رواية ابن حنبل .

« اللهم اغفر له ، اللهم ارحمه » ، ما لم يُحدث .

١٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا قال أحدكم آمين ، والملائكة في السماء ، فوافق أحدهما الأخرى ، غُفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه .

١١ - وقال أبو هريرة : بينما رجل يسوق بدنة مقلدة ، فقال له رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اركبها . فقال : إنها بدنة ، يا رسول الله ! فقال : ويلك ، اركبها ؛ ويلك اركبها .

١٢ - ( ٢/ب ) وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ناركم هذه ، ما يوقد بنو آدم ، جزء من سبعين جزءاً من حرّ جهنم . فقالوا : والله ! ان كانت لكافيتنا ، يا رسول الله ! . قال : فانها فضلت عليها بتسعة وستين جزءاً مثل حرّها .

١٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لما قضى الله الخلق ، كتب كتاباً ، فهو عنده فوق العرش : « إن رحمتي غلبت غضبي » .

١٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : والذى نفس

( ١٢ ) فى المخطوطتين : « بنوا آدم » ( ١٣ ) وهو عند ابن حنبل بين ١٤ و ١٥ ( ١٤ ) زاد ابن حنبل ههنا حديثاً لا يوجد فى المخطوطتين وهو : « وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اذا قاتل أحدكم فليجتنب الوجه » .

محمد بيده، لو تعلمون ما أعلم، لبكيتكم كثيراً، ولضحكتكم قليلاً .

١٥ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : الصيام

جَنَّةٌ . فإذا كان أحدكم يوماً صائماً ، فلا يجهل ، ولا يرفث .

فإن امرؤاً قاتله ، أو شاتمه ، فليقل : إني صائم ، إني صائم .

١٦ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : والذي

نفس محمد بيده ، لخلف فم الصائم أطيب عند الله من ريح

المسك ؛ يذر شهوته وطعامه وشرابه من جزأى ؛ فالصيام لى ،

و أنا أجزى به .

١٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : نزل نبي من

الأنبياء تحت شجرة ، فلدغته نملة . فأمر بجهازه فأخرج من تحتها ؛

وأمر بها فأحرقت فى النار . فأوحى [ الله ] اليه : فهلا نملة

واحدة ؟ !

١٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : والذي

نفس محمد فى يده ، لولا أن أشق على المؤمنين . ما قعدتُ خاف

سرية تغزو فى سبيل الله و لكن لا أجد سعة فأحملهم ، ولا يجدون

سعة فيتبعونى ، ولا تطيب أنفسهم أن يقعدوا بعدى .

١٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لكل نبي

دعوة تستجاب له . فأريد ، ان شاء الله ، أن أُوخر دعوتي شفاعة  
لأمتي يوم القيامة .

٢٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : من أحب  
لقاء الله ، أحب الله لقاءه ، ومن لم يحب لقاء الله ، لم يحب الله لقاءه .

٢١ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ( ٣ / آ )  
من أطاعني ، فقد أطاع الله ؛ ومن يعصني ، فقد عصى الله ؛ ومن  
يطع الأمير ، فقد أطاعني ؛ ومن يعص الأمير ، فقد عصاني .

٢٢ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تقوم  
الساعة حتى يكثر فيكم المال ، فيفيض ، حتى يهمل رب المال من  
يتقبل منه صدقته . قال : وَيُقْبَضُ العلم ، و يقترب الزمان ، وتظهر  
الفتن ، و يكثر الهرج . [ قالوا : الهرج ] ، أي هو ، يا رسول الله ؟  
قال : القتل ، القتل .

٢٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تقوم  
الساعة حتى تقتتل فئتان عظيمتان ، تكون بينهما مقتلة عظيمة ،  
و دعواهما واحدة .

٢٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تقوم  
الساعة حتى ينهث دجالون كذابون قريب من ثلاثين ، كلهم  
يزعم أنه رسول الله .

٢٥ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تقوم الساعة حتى تطلع الشمس من مغربها . فاذا طلعت ورأها الناس ، آمنوا أجمعون . وذلك حين لا ينفع نفساً إيمانها ، لم تكن آمنت من قبل أو كسبت في إيمانها خيراً .

٢٦ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اذا بودى بالصلاة ، أدبر الشيطان ، له ضراط ، حتى لا يسمع التأذين فاذا قضى التأذين أقبل ، حتى اذا ثوب بها أدبر ، حتى اذا قضى التشويب ، أقبل يخطر بين المرء ونفسه ، ويقول له : « اذكر كذا ، اذكر كذا ، لما لم يكن يذكر من قبل ، حتى يظل الرجل إن يدرى كيف صلى .

٢٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : يمين الله ملائى ، لا يغضها نفقة سخاء الليل والنهار . أرايتم ما انفق منذ خلق السماء والأرض ؟ فانه لم ينقص مما فى يمينه . قال : وعرشه على الماء . ويده الأخرى القبض ، يرفع ويخفض .

٢٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : والذى نفسى بيده ، لياأتين على احدكم يوم لا يرانى ، ثم لأن يرانى أحب اليه من مثل أهله وماله معهم .

٢٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : يهلك كسرى ثم لا كسرى بعده ، وقيصر ليهلكن ، ثم لا يكون قيصر بعده ، ولتنفق كنوزهما فى سبيل الله . وسمى الحرب بخدعة .

٣٠- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إن الله عز وجل قال : أعددت (٣/ب) لعبادى الصالحين ما لا عين رأت ولا أذن سمعت ولا خطر على قلب بشر .

٣١- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ذرونى ما تركتكم . فانما هلك الذين من قبلكم بسؤالهم و اختلافهم على أنبيائهم . فاذا نهيتكم عن شئ فاجتنبوه ، وإذا أمرتكم بأمر فأتوا منه ما استطعتم .

٣٢- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا نودى للصلاة ، صلاة الصبح ، وأحدكم جنب ، فلا يصوم يومئذ .  
٣٣- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لله تسعة وتسعون اسماً ، مائة الا واحد . من أحصاها دخل الجنة . إنه وتر ، يحب الوتر .

٣٤- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اذا نظر أحدكم الى من هو فضل عليه فى المال والحُلُق ، فليُنظر الى من هو أسفل منه بمن فضل عليه .

٣٥- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ظهور إناء أحدكم ، اذا ولغ الكلب فيه ، فليغسله سبع مرات .

٣٦- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : و الذى نفس محمد بيده ، لقد هممت ، أن آمر قتيانى ان يستعذوا لى بحزم من



حطب، ثم أمر رجلاً يصلي بالناس، ثم أحرق بيوتاً على من فيها.  
٣٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: نصرتُ

بالرعب، وأوتيت جوامع الكلم.

٣٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: إذا انقطع  
شسع نعل أحدكم أو شراكه، فلا يمشي في إحداهما بنعل واحد،  
والأخرى حافية: ليحفيهما جميعاً أو لينعلهما جميعاً.

٣٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: لا يأتي  
ابن آدم النذر بشيء لم أكن قد قدرته، ولكن يلقه النذر  
وقد قدرته له، استخرج به من البخل ويؤتني عليه ما لم يكن  
آتاني من قبل.

٤٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، إن الله قال:  
«أنفق أنفق عليك»، وسمى الحرب «خدعة».

٤١ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: رأى عيسى  
ابن مريم رجلاً يسرق. فقال له عيسى: [سرقت؟] فقال: كلا،  
والذي لا إله إلا هو. فقال عيسى: آمنت بالله وكذبت عيني.

٤٢ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: ما أوتيكم  
من شيء ولا أمنعكموه إن أنا إلا خازن أضع حيث أمرت.

٤٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: (٤/آ)

إنما الإمام ليؤتم به . فلا تختلفوا عليه . فاذا كبر ، فكبروا ؛  
و اذا ركع ، فاركعوا ؛ و اذا قال : « سمع الله لمن حمده » فقولوا :  
« اللهم ربنا لك الحمد » ، فاذا سجد ، فاسجدوا . و اذا صلى جالساً ،  
فصلوا جلوساً أجمعين .

٤٤ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : أقيموا  
الصف في الصلاة . فان إقامة الصف من حسن الصلاة .

٤٥ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : تحتاج آدم  
و موسى . فقال له موسى : أنت آدم الذي أغويت الناس  
فأخرجتهم من الجنة الى الأرض ؟ فقال له آدم : انت موسى  
الذي اعطاه الله علم كل شيء و اصطفاه على الناس برسالته ؟ قال :  
نعم . قال : أتولمني على امر قد كان كتب عليّ أن أفعل من  
قبل أن أخلق ؟ فحج آدم موسى .

٤٦ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : بينما أيوب  
يغتسل عُرياناً ، خرّ عليه رجل جرّاد من ذهب . فجعل أيوب  
يحيى في ثوبه . قال : فتاداه ربه : يا أيوب ! ألم أكن أغنيك  
عما ترى ؟ قال : بلى يا رب ! ولكن لا غنى بي عن بركتك .

٤٧ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : خُفِّفَ على  
داود القرآن فكان يامر بدوابه تسرج . فكان يقرأ القرآن  
من قبل ان تسرج دابته . و كان لا يأكل الا من عمل يديه .

٤٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : رؤيا الرجل الصالح جزء من ستة وأربعين جزءاً من النبوة .

٤٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : يسلم الصغير على الكبير ، والمائر على القاعد ، والقليل على الكثير .

٥٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا أزال أقاتل الناس حتى يقولوا : لا اله الا الله . فاذا قالوا : لا اله الا الله ، فقد عصموا مني دماءهم وأموالهم وأنفسهم الا بحقها ، وحسابهم على الله .

٥١ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : تحاجت الجنة والنار . فقالت النار : أوثرت بالمتكبرين والمتجبرين . وقالت الجنة : فمالي ، لا يدخلني الا ضعفاء الناس وسقطتهم وغرقتهم . فقال الله للجنة : إنما أنت رحمتي ، أرحم بك من أشاء من عبادي . وقال للنار : إنما أنت عذابي : أعذب بك من أشاء من عبادي : ولكل واحدة منكما ملؤها . فأما النار فلا تمتلي . حتى يضع الله تعالى فيها رجله . فتقول : قط قط . فهناك تمتلي . ويزوى بعضها الى بعض . ولا يظلم الله من خلقه ( ٤ / ب ) أحداً . وأما الجنة فان الله عز وجل ينشئ لها خلقاً .

٥٢ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا استجمر أحدكم فليوتر .

٥٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : قال الله تعالى :

إذا تحدث عبدى بأن يعمل حسنة فأنا أكتبها له حسنة ، ما لم يعملها ، فإذا عملها فأنا أكتبها له بعشر أمثالها . وإذا تحدث بأن يعمل سيئة فأنا أغفرها له ما لم يعملها ؛ فإذا عملها فأنا أكتبها له بمثلها .

٥٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : والله ! لقيد

سوط أحدكم من الجنة خير له مما بين السماء والأرض .

٥٥ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إن أدنى مقعد

أحدكم من الجنة إن هُيئ له أن يقال له : تَمَن . فیتَمَنى ویتَمَنى . فيقال له : هل تمنيت ؟ فيقول : نعم . فيقول له : فإن لك ما تمنيت و مثله معه .

٥٦ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لولا الهجرة ،

لكنتُ امرأً من الأنصار . ولو يندفع الناس في شعبة ، أو في وادٍ ، والأنصار في شعبة لا ندفتُ مع الأنصار في شعبهم .

٥٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لولا

بنو إسرائيل ، لم يخبث الطعام ولم يخزن اللحم . ولولا حواء لم تخن أنثى زوجها الدهر .

( ٥٥ ) [ » ، علامة انتهاء السقطة من البرلينية ( ٥٧ ) في المخطوطتين :

« بنو إسرائيل » .

٥٨ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : خلق الله آدم على صورته طوله ستون ذراعاً . فلما خلقه ، قال : « اذهب فسلم على أولئك النفر » - وهم نفر من الملائكة جلوس - « فاستمع ما يَحْمُونَكَ . فانها تحميتك وتحمية ذريتك » . قال : فذهب ، فقال : السلام عليكم . فقالوا : وعليك ورحمة الله ، فزادوا « ورحمة الله » . قال : فكل من يدخل الجنة على صورة آدم : طوله ستون ذراعاً . فلم يزل الخلق ينقص بعدُ حتى الآن .

٥٩ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : جاء ملك الموت الى موسى ، فقال له : اجب ربك . قال : فلطم موسى عين ملك الموت ، ففققاها . قال : فرجع الملك الى الله عز وجل ، فقال : إنك أرسلتني الى عبد لك لا يريد الموت ؛ وقد فققأ عيني . قال : (٥ / آ) فردَّ الله اليه عينه ؛ قال : ارجعْ الى عبدى ، فقل له : الحياة تريد ؟ فان كنت تريد الحياة ، فضع يدك على متن ثور ؛ فما وارت يدك من شعرة فانك تعيش بها سنة قال : ثم مه ؟ قال : ثم تموت . قال : فالآن من قريب . قال : رب ادنى من الأرض المقدسة رمية بحجر . و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لو أنى عنده ؛ لأريتكم قبره الى جانب الطريق عند الاشيب الأحمر . ٦٠ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : كانت بنو

( ٦٠ ) فى المخطوطتين : « بنو اسرائيل » .

اسرائيل يغتسلون عراة ينظر بعضهم الى سوءة بعض ، و كان موسى يغتسل وحده . فقالوا والله ! ما يمنع موسى أن يغتسل معنا إلا أنه آدر . قال : فذهب مرة يغتسل ، فوضع ثوبه على حجر ، ففترّ الحجر بثوبه . قال : فجمع موسى في أثره ، يقول : « ثوبي ، حجر ، ثوبي ، حجر ! » حتى نظرت بنو اسرائيل الى سوءة موسى ، فقالوا : والله ! ما بموسى من بأس . قال : فقام الحجر بعد ما نُظر اليه ، فأخذ ثوبه ، و طفق بالحجر ضرباً . فقال أبوهريرة : والله ! إنه نَدَبُ بالحجر ستة أو سبعة ضرب موسى بالحجر .

٦١ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : ليس الغنى من كثرة العرض ، ولكن الغنى غنى النفس .

٦٢ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : إن من الظلم مظل الغنى . و إن اتبّع أحدكم على مليء فليتبّع .

٦٣ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : أغبط رجل على الله يوم القيامة و أخبثه و اغبطه عليه رجل كان يسمى ملك الأملاك ، لا ملك الا الله عزّوجل .

٦٤ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : بينما رجل يتبختر في بُردين و قد اعجبته نفسه ، خُسف به الأرض . فهو يتجلجل فيها الى يوم القيامة .



٦٥ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : قال الله عز وجل : انا عند ظن عبدي بي .

٦٦ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : من يولد ، يولد على هذه الفطرة . فأبواه يهودانه وينصرانه . كما تنتجون البهيمة ، هل تجدون فيها من جدعاء حتى تكونوا أتم تجدعونها ؟ قالوا : يا رسول الله ! ( ٥ / ب ) أفرايت من يموت ، وهو صغير ؟ قال : الله أعلم بما كانوا عاملين .

٦٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إن في الانسان عظماً ، لا تأكله الأرض أبداً . فيه يركب يوم القيامة . قالوا : أي عظم يا رسول الله ؟ قال : عجم الذنب . وقال ابو الحسن : إنما هو « عجب » ، ولكنه قال : بالميم .

٦٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إياكم والوصال ، إياكم والوصال . قالوا : فانك تواصل يا رسول الله ! قال : إني لستُ في ذلكم مثلكم : إني أبيت يطعمني ربي ويسقيني ؛ فاكلفوا من العمل ما لكم به طاقة .

٦٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اذا استيقظ أحدكم فلا يضع يده في الوضوء حتى يغسلها . إنه لا يدري أحدكم اين باتت يده .

٧٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : كل سُلامى من الناس عليه صدقة كل يوم تطلع عليه الشمس . قال : تعدل بين الاثنين ، صدقة . وتعين الرجل فى دابته وحموله عليها ، أو ترفع له عليها متاعه ، صدقة . والكلمة الطيبة ، صدقة . وكل خطوة تمشيها الى الصلاة ، صدقة . وتميط الأذى عن الطريق ، صدقة .

٧١ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا ما ربّ النعم لم يعط حقها ، تسلّط عليه يوم القيمة : تخبط وجهه بأخفافها .

٧٢ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : يكون كنز أحدكم يوم القيمة شجاعاً أقرع . يقرّ منه صاحبه ويطلبه ويقول : أنا كنزك قال : والله ! لن يزال يطلبه حتى يبسط يده ، فيلقمها فاه .

٧٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا يزال فى الماء الدائم الذى لا يجرى ، ثم يغتسل به .

٧٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ليس المسكين هذا الطواف الذى يطوف على الناس تردهُ اللقمة واللقمتان والتمرة والتمرتان ؛ إنما المسكين الذى لا يجد غنى يغنيه ويستحي أن يسأل الناس ولا يُفطن له فيتصدق عليه .

٧٥- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تصوم المرأة وبعلاها شاهد إلا بإذنه . ( ٦/٦ ) ولا تأذن في بيته وهو شاهد إلا بإذنه . وما أنفقت من كسبه من غير أمره فإن نصف أجره له .

٧٦- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا يتمي أحدكم الموت ولا يدعوه به من قبل أن يأتيه . انه اذا مات أحدكم ، انقطع عمله - أو قال : أجله . إنه لا يزيد المؤمن من عمره إلا خيراً .

٧٧- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا يقل أحدكم للغنـب « الكرم » إنما الكرم الرجل المسلم .

٧٨- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اشترى رجل من رجل عقاراً . فوجد الرجل الذي اشترى العقار في عقاره جرة فيها ذهب . فقال له الذي اشترى العقار : خذ ذهبك مني ؛ إنما اشتريت منك الارض ، ولم ابتع منك الذهب . فقال الذي شـرى الأرض : إنما بعتك الأرض وما فيها . فتحاكما الى رجل . فقال الذي تحاكما اليه : ألكما ولد ؟ فقال أحدهما : لى غلام . وقال الآخر : لى جارية . فقال : أنكح . الغلام الجارية ، وأنفقوا على أنفسكما منه ، و تصدقا .

٧٩- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : أيفرح

أحمدكم براحلتكم إذا ضلّت منه ثم وجدها؟ قالوا: نعم،  
يا رسول الله! قال: و الذي نفس محمد بيده، لله أشد فرحاً بتوبة  
عبده إذا تاب، من أحمدكم براحلتكم إذا وجدها.

٨٠- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: إن الله  
عز وجل قال: إذا تلقاني عبدى بشبر، تلقيته بذراع؛ وإذا تلقاني  
بذراع، تلقيته بباع؛ وإذا تلقاني بباع، جئتته - أو قال:  
أنتيته - بأسرع.

٨١- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: إذا توضأ  
أحدكم فليستنشق بمنخريه من ماء ثم لينثر.

٨٢- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: و الذي  
نفس محمد بيده، لو أن عندى أهدأ ذهباً لأحببت أن لا يأتى  
على ثلاث ليال و عندى منه دينار أجد من يتقبله منى، ليس  
بىء أرصده فى دين على.

(٨٢) وأوضح من هذا ما رواه البخارى فى كتاب الرقاق (٢/١٤/٨١)  
عن أبى هريرة: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: لو كان لى مثل أحد  
هبأ لسننى أن لا تمر ثلاث ليال و عندى منه شىء، إلا شئتأ أرصده  
لدين.

٨٣- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اذا جاءكم الصانع بطعامكم قد أغنى عنكم حرّهُ ودخانه ، فادعوه فليأكل معكم . وإلا فالقموه في يده - أو : ليناوله في يده . (٦/ب) .

٨٤- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا يقل أحدكم : « اسق ربك ، أو أطعم ربك ، و « ضى ربك ، . ولا يقل أحدكم « ربى ، . ولا يقل « سيدى ، « مولاي ، . ولا يقل أحدكم : « عبدى ، « امتى ، « وليقل : « فتاى ، « فتاى ، « غلامى ، .

٨٥- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : أول زمرة تلج الجنة صورهم على صورة القمر ليلة البدر لا يصبقون فيها ولا يمتخطون ولا يتغوطون فيها . آنتهم و أمشاطهم من الذهب والفضة ، و مجامرهم من الألوة . و رشحهم المسك . ولكل واحد منهم زوجتان يرى مَخَّ ساقها من وراء اللحم من الحسن . لا اختلاف بينهم ولا تباغض قلوبهم على قلب واحد . يسبحون الله بكرةً وعشيّاً .

٨٦- وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اللهم إني أتخذ عندك عهداً لن تخلفه . إنما انا بشر . [ فأى المؤمنين آذيته

(٨٦) سقطت ورقة اخرى من ب . و « [ « علامة ابتدائها .

أو شتمته أو جلدته أو لعنته . فاجعلها صلاة و زكاة و قربة  
تقرّبه بها يوم القيامة .

٨٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لم تحل الغنائم

لمن كان قبلنا . ذلك بأن الله رأى ضعفنا و عجزنا ، فطيّبها لنا .

٨٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : دخلت امرأة

النار من جراهرة لها أو هرة ربطتها . فلا هي أطعمتها ولا هي  
أرسلتها تنقّهم من خشاش الأرض ، حتى ماتت هزلاً .

٨٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا يسرق

سارق و هو حين يسرق مؤمن : ولا يزني زان و هو حين يزني  
مؤمن ، ولا يشرب الحدود أحدكم - يعني الخمر - و هو حين يشربها

مؤمن . و الذي نفس محمد بيده ، لا ينتهب أحدكم نهبته ذات  
شرف يرفع إليه المؤمنون أعينهم فيها و هو حين ينتهبها مؤمن .

ولا يغل أحدكم حين يغل و هو مؤمن . و يباكم ، و إياكم .

٩٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : و الذي نفس

محمد بيده ، لا يسمع بي أحد من هذه الأمة ، ولا يهودي . ولا  
نصراني ، و مات و لم يؤمن بالذي أرسلت به إلا كان من  
أصحاب النار .

٩١ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : التسبيح

للقوم و التصفيق للنساء في الصلاة .



٩٢ - ( ٧ / آ ) وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم :

كل كُلم يُكلم به المسلم في سبيل الله يكون يوم القيامة كهيئتها إذا طعنت تفجر دمًا ، اللون لون الدم ، والعرف عرف المسك .

٩٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تزالون

تستفتون حتى يقول أحدكم : هذا الله خلق الخلق ، فمن خلق الله ؟

٩٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إني لأنقلب

إلى أهلي فأجد التمرة ساقطة على فراشي أو في بيتي فأرفعها لآكلها ، ثم أخشى أن تكون من الصدقة ، فألقها .

٩٥ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لأن يبلغ

أحدكم يمينه في أهله أتم له عند الله من أن يعطى كفارته التي فرض الله .

٩٦ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا أكره

الاثنان على اليمين فاستحباها فأسهم بينهما .

٩٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا ما أحدكم

اشتري لقحة مُصراة أو شاة ، فهو بخير النظرين بعد أن يحلبها إما هي وإلا فليردها وصاعاً من تمر .

٩٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : الشيخ شاب

على حب اثنتين : طول الحياة وكثرة المال .

٩٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا يشير

أحدكم الى أخيه بالسلاح فانه لا يدري أحدكم لعل الشيطان أن  
ينزع من يده فيقع في حفرة من النار .

١٠٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اشتد

غضب الله على قوم فعلوا برسول الله ( صلى الله عليه وسلم ) وهو  
حيثنذ يشير الى رباعيته ) . وقال : اشتد غضب الله على رجل  
يقتله رسول الله في سبيل الله .

١٠١ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : على ابن آدم

نصيب من الزنا ، أدرك ذلك لا محالة . قال : فالعين زنيتهما النظر  
و تصديقها الإعراض . و اللسان زنيته المنطق ؛ و القلب زنيته  
التمنى ؛ و الفرج بصديق بمأثم أو يكذب .

١٠٢ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا أحسن

أحدكم إسلامه فكل ( ٧/ب ) حسنة يعملها تكتب بعشر أمثالها  
الى سبع مائة ضعف . و كل سيئة يعملها تكتب له بمثلها حتى  
يلقى الله عز وجل .

١٠٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا أمّ

حدكم للناس فليخفف الصلاة ، فان فيهم الكبير وفيهم الضعيف  
و فيهم السقيم . و إن قام وحده ، فليطل صلاته ماشاء .

١٠٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : قالت

الملائكة : يا رب ! ، ذاك عبد يريد أن يعمل سيئة ، و هو

أبصر به ، فقال : ارقبوه ، فان عملها فاكتبوها له بمثلها ، إن تركها فاكتبوها له حسنة ، إنما تركها من جرائي .

١٠٥ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : قال الله

عزَّ وجل : كذَّبتني عبدي ولم يكن ذلك له ، و شتمني عبدي [ ولم يكن ذلك له . أما تكذبه إياي أن يقول : لن يعيدنا كما بدأنا . و أما شتمه إياي أن يقول : اتخذ الله ولدًا . و أنا الصمد : لم ألد و لم أولد و لم يكن لي كفؤًا أحد .

١٠٦ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : أوردوا عن

الحر في الصلاة ، فان شدة الحر من فيح جهنم .

١٠٧ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تقبل

صلاة أحدكم إذا أحدث حتى يتوضأ .

١٠٨ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا نودي

بالصلاة فأتوها و أنتم تمشون و عليكم السكينة . فما أدر كتم فصلوا ،

و ما سُبِقتم فأتَمُوا .

١٠٩ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يضحك الله

لرجلين يقتل أحدهما الآخر كلاهما يدخل الجنة . قالوا : وكيف

يا رسول الله ؟ قال : يُقتل هذا فيلج الجنة . ثم يتوب الله على

الآخر فيهديه الى الاسلام ثم يجاهد في سبيل الله فيُشهد .

[ (١٠٦) ] . علامة انتهاء السقطة في ب .

١١٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا يبيع

أحدكم على بيع أخيه ولا يخطب على خطبة أخيه .

١١١ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : الكافر

يأكل في سبعة أمعاء ، والمؤمن يأكل في معى واحد .

١١٢ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ( ٨ / آ )

إنما سمى خضر ، لأنه جلس على فروة بيضاء فإذا هي تهتز تحته

خضراء .

١١٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إن الله لا ينظر

إلى المسبل يوم القيمة - [ يعنى ] إزاره .

١١٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : قيل

لبنى إسرائيل : « ادخلوا الباب سُجَّداً و قولوا حِطَّةٌ نَغْفِرْ لَكُمْ

خطاياكم » . فبدلوا : فدخلوا الباب يزحفون على استاهمهم ؛

وقالوا : حَبْثَةٌ فى شعيرة .

١١٥ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، إذا قام

أحدكم من الليل فاستعجم القرآن على لسانه : فلم يدر ما يقول ،

فليضطجع .

١١٦ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : قال الله

تعالى : لا يقل ابن آدم : « يا خيبة الدهر » ، فإني أنا الدهر ، ارسل

الليل والنهار ؛ فإذا شئت قبضتهما .

١١٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : نعمّا للمملوك أن يتوفاه الله بحسن عبادة ربه وطاعة سيده . نعمّا له ؛ نعمّا له .

١١٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إذا قام أحدكم الى الصلاة . فلا يبصق أمامه ، فانه يناجى الله ما دام فى مصلاه ؛ ولا عن يمينه ، فان عن يمينه ملكاً ؛ ولكن ليبصق عن شماله أو تحت رجله فيدفنه .

١١٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اذا قلت للناس : « أنصتوا » . وهم يتكلمون ، فقد لغوت على نفسك - يعنى يوم الجمعة .

١٢٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، أنا اولى الناس بالمؤمنين ( ٨/ب ) فى كتاب الله . فأىكم ترك ديناً أو ضيعة فادعونى ، فأتى وآيه . وأىكم ما ترك مالاً ، فليؤثر بماله عصيته من كان .

١٢١ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا يقل أحدكم : « اللهم اغفرلى إن شئت » ، أو « ارحمنى إن شئت » ، أو « ارزقنى إن شئت » . ليعزم المسألة . انه يفعل ما يشاء : لا مكره له .

١٢٢ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : غزائى من الانبياء فقال . للقوم : « لا يتبعنى رجل قد كان ملك بوضع

امراة يريد أن يبنى بها ولما بنى . ولا آخر قد بنى بناء له ولما  
يرفع سقفها . ولا آخر قد اشترى غنماً أو خرافات وهو ينتظر  
ولادها . . ففزا ، فدنا القرية حين صلى العصر أو قريباً من ذلك ،  
فقال للشمس : أنت مأمورة و أنا مأمور . اللهم احبسها على  
شيئاً . فحبست عليه ، حتى فتح الله عليه . فجمعوا ما غنموا فأقبلت  
النار لتأكله ، فأبت أن تطعمه . فقال : « فيكم غُلُولٌ . فليسياً يعني  
من كل قبيلة رجل ، . فبايعوه فلبصقت يدُ رجل بيده . فقال :  
« فيكم الغُلُول فلتبايعني قبيلته . . فبايعته قبيلته ، فلبصق يد رجلين  
أو ثلاثة بيده . فقال : « فيكم الغُلُول . أنتم غلّلتهم . . قال :  
فأخرجوا له مثل رأس بقرة من ذهب . فوضعوه في المال ، وهو  
بالصعيد ، فأقبلت النار ، فأكلت . قال : فلم تحلّ الغنائم لأحد من  
قبلنا . ذلك ( ٩ / آ ) بأن الله رأى ضعفنا وعجزنا ، فطيببها لنا .

١٢٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : بينما

انا نائم ، رأيت أتى أنزع على حوض أسقى الناس . فأتاني  
ابو بكر ، فأخذ الدلو من يدي ليريحني . فنزع دلوين ؛ وفي نزع  
ضعف . والله يغفر له . قال : فأتاني عمر بن الخطاب فأخذها منه ،  
فلم نزع رجل نزع حتى ولّى الناس والحوض ينفجر .

١٢٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تقوم

الساعة حتى تقاتلوا جور كرمين ، قوماً من الأعاجم ، حمر

الوجوه ، فطس الأنوف ، صفار الأعين ، كأن وجوههم المجان المطرقة .

١٢٥ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : الخيلاء والفخر في أهل الخيل و الإبل ، و السكينة في أهل الغنم .

١٢٦ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تقوم الساعة حتى تقاتلوا قومًا نعالهم الشعر .

١٢٧ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : الناس تبع لقريش في هذه الشأن - أراه يعنى الإمارة - مسلمهم ، تبع لمسلمهم ، و كافرهم تبع لكافرهم .

١٢٨ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : خير نساء ركبهن الإبل نساء قريش : أحناء على ولد في صغره ، و أرحاء على زوج في ذات يده .

١٢٩ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : العين حق . ونهى عن الوشم .

١٣٠ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا يزال أحدكم في صلاة ما كانت تحبسه ، ولا يمنعه أن يخرج إلا انتظارها .

١٣١ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اليد العليا خير من اليد السفلى . و ابدأ بمن تعمل .



١٣٢ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : أنا أولى الناس بعيسى بن مريم ( ٩/ب ) في الأولى والآخرة . قالوا : كيف يا رسول الله ؟ قال الأنبياء إخوة من علات ، وأُمُّهاتهم شتى ، ودينهم واحد ، فليس بيننا نبي .

١٣٣ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : بينما أنا نائم إذ أتيت من خزائن الأرض فوضع في يدي سواران من ذهب ، فكبراً عليّ وأهمنى . فأوحى إليّ أن انفخهما فنفختهما ، فذهبا . فأولتهما الكذابين اللذين أنا بينهما : صاحب صنعاء وصاحب اليمامة .

١٣٤ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ليس أحد منكم بمنجي عمله ، ولكن سددوا وقاربوا . قالوا : ولا أنت ، يا رسول الله ؟ قال : ولا أنا ، إلا أن يتغمدني الله منه برحة وفضل .

١٣٥ - وقال : ونهى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : عن بيعتين ولبستين : أن يحتبى أحدكم في الثوب الواحد ليس على فرجه منه شيء ؛ وأن يشتمل في إزاره إذا ما صلى إلا أن يخالف بين طرفيه على عاتقه ؛ ونهى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عن المس والالقاء ، والنجش .

١٣٦ - وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : العجاء

جرحها جبار ، و البئر جبار ، و المعدن جبار ، و النار جبار ، و في الركاك الخمس .

١٣٧ - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : أيما قرية أيتيموها و اقمتم فيها . سهمكم - و اظنه قال : - فهي لكم - او نحوه من الكلام - و أيما قرية عصت الله و رسوله فان خمسها لله و رسوله ، ثم هي لكم .



آخر الصحيفة و الحمد لله رب العالمين و الصلاة و السلام على محمد خير خلقه و على آله الطيبين و اصحابه المنتجبين و كرم الى يوم الدين . و كاتب الجزء مالكة العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله و عفوه عبد الرحيم بن حمدان بن بركات حامداً لله تعالى .

( آخر مخطوطة دمشق )

آخر الصحيفة و الحمد لله رب العالمين و صلى الله على سيدنا محمد و آله و صحبه و سلم تسليماً . فرغ منها كتابة الفقير ابراهيم بن سليمان بن محمد بن عبد العزيز الحنفي الجينيني الأصل ، الدمشقي الدار في نهار الاثنين سابع عشر ربيع الاول سنة مائة و الف و علقها لنفسه و لمن شاء الله تعالى من بعده ، من خط العلامة اسمعيل بن ابراهيم بن جماعة و تاريخ كتابته لها يوم الجمعة ١٦ ربيع الأول سنة ٨٥٦ رحمه الله تعالى رحمة واسعة ، آمين .

( آخر مخطوطة برلين )

( ١٣٧ ) و بهامش الدمشقية : « بلغ المقابلة » .

## اختلاف الروايات

الرموز : « ب » يدل على مخطوطة برلين لصحيفة همام بن منبه ، « م » على مخطوطة دار الكتب المصرية ، « ش » على مخطوطة شهيد على باشا باستانبول ، « د » على مخطوطة دمشق ، « ح » على مسند ابن حنبل .  
و الرقم هو رقم الحديث في الصحيفة كما نشرناها .  
و النقاط ( . . . ) معناها حذف المأخذ عبارة أو حديثا كاملا .



- ١ - ب : اوتينا من .  
ح : فرض الله عليهم — اليهود .  
ش : فرض لهم — فالتاس لنا — فعدأ اليهود ، و بعد غد النصرارى .  
م : فليهود — و للنصارى .
- ٢ - ح : قال أبو القاسم صلى الله عليه وسلم — أكلها وأجملها — فيتم بناؤك — محمد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فكنت أنا .  
ش : قال أبو القاسم صلى الله عليه وسلم — إلا موضع زاوية من — يطوفون بالبنيان فيعجبون منه و يقولون : ألا وضعت هذه البنية — قال محمد فأننا تلك البنية .

٣ - ب : أنفق أشياء

ح : ...

ش : ...

م : عن جلده فنجا حتى نجا و يعفو

٤ - ب : فيقحم -- عن النار هلم عن النار فتغلبوني

ح : فتقحم فيها قال فذاكم -- تقتحمون فيها

ش : رجل أو قد نارا -- ما حوله فجعل -- الدواب اللاتي

-- فيقعن فيها فهذا مثلي أنا أحجزكم عن النار أن

تقعوا فيها هلم عن النار تغلبوني فتقعون فيها

م : قال فذلك -- بحجزكم عن النار هلم عن النار

و تغلبوني فتقحمون فيها

٥ - ح : ...

ش : ...

م : ان في الجنة -- يصير

٦ - ح : اياكم و الظن ... فان الظن -- الحديث ... ولا

تحاسنوا -- عبيد الله ( طبعة جديدة : عباد الله )

ش : الظن و اياكم و الظن فانه اعذب الحديث ولا تجسسوا

-- تناقشوا

م : اياكم و الظن ...

- ٧ - ش : ان في الجمعة -- مسلم يصلي فيه  
 م : عبد مسلم  
 ح : يوافقها مسلم ... وهو يسأل  
 ٨ - ب : يأتوا فيكم  
 ح : وقال لي رسول الله (طبعة جديدة : قال رسول الله)  
 -- وقال يجتمعون -- أعلم : فكيف -- فقالوا  
 ش : يعرج الذين -- فقالوا  
 ٩ - ح : صلى فيه ما لم يحدث -- ارحمه ...  
 ش : مصلاه ما لم يحدث -- ارحمه ...  
 ١٠ - ب : في السماء آمين  
 ح : فيوافق  
 ش : في السماء آمين فوافقت  
 ١١ - ح : وقال بينما -- قال له -- قال ... بدنة -- قال ويلك  
 اركبها ...  
 ش : رأى رسول الله -- فقال اركبها ويلك فقال انها  
 بدنة ... فقال اركبها ويلك  
 م : وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بينما رجل --  
 قال له  
 ١٢ - ح : ( ذكره بعد رقم ١٤ ) -- جزء واحد

ش : قال و قال -- لكافية فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه

و سلم -- فضلت عليه

م : ( الترتيب عنده كما عند ابن حنبل : ١١ ، ١٤ ، ١٢ ،

( ١٥ ، ١٣

١٣ - م : كتب في كتاب عنده

١٤ - ب : تعلمون ما ... بكيتم

ح : لضحكتم قليلا و لبكيتم كثيرا

١٤/الف-ح : و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم : إذا قاتل

أحدكم فليجنب الوجه

د : ...

ب : ...

١٥ - ب : فليقل إلى صائم ...

ح : أو شتمه

ش : عليه و سلم إذا كان يوم صوم أحدكم -- شتمه

م : شتمه

١٦ - ش : يذر طعامه و شرابه و شهوته من جزاء الصيام

١٧ - ح : أمر بالنار فاحرقت -- فأوحى الله

ب : فأوحى الله

ش : بجهازه فرفع من تحتها -- احرقت بالنار فأوحى الله

م : احرقت بالنار فأوحى الله

١٨ - ب : محمد بيده -- قدمت ... سرية

ش : محمد بيده -- أشق على امتي

م : و الذي نفسى بيده

١٩ - د : أواخر ( بالهامش : خ ادخر )

ب : ان شاء الله ادخر ( خ اوخر ) دعوتى شفاعتى

ح : لامتى الى يوم القيامة

٢٠ - ش : و من لم يحب الله

٢١ - ح : من يعصينى

ش : أطاع أميرى -- و من عصى أميرى

٢٢ - ب : قالوا الهرج

ح : و يفيض الهرج قالوا الهرج أيما هو

ش : يكثر الهرج فقالوا الهرج ما هو فقال رسول الله

صلى الله عليه وسلم القتل القتل

ش : سلم ... لا تقوم الساعة حتى يقبض العلم و حتى

كثر المال له يقبض حتى يهزم رب المال من يقبض

منه صدقته و قال يقترب الزمان و يظهر الفتن

و يكثر الهرج . فقالوا الهرج ما هو ؟ فقال رسول الله

صلى الله عليه وسلم : القتل القتل



م : الهرج قالوا الهرج أيم هو

٢٣ - ب : يكون بينهما

ح : يكون بينهما

٢٤ - ب : حتى تنبعث

ح : قريبا

م : قريبا

٢٥ - ب : آمنوا جميعا

ش : طلعت من مغربها آمنوا أجمعين فذاك

٢٦ - ب : حتى ... قضى

ح : وله ضراط -- أقبل حتى يخطر -- فيقول له

ش : لا تسمع التأذين فاذا قضيت التأذين -- ثوب

بالصلاة -- أقبل حتى يخطر -- افعـل كذا ، افعـل

كذا ، اذكر كذا -- يذكره قبل -- كم صلى

م : نودى للصلاة -- أقبل حتى يخطر -- اذكر كذا

كذا ، اذكر كذا كذا ما لم يكن

٢٧ - ح : ان يمين الله -- خلق السموات -- لم يغض ما في

ش : ملائ سجا الليل والنهار ولا يغضه نفقة ، رأيتم

ما ينفق مذ خلق -- ما في يمينه و العرش على الماء

م : مذ خلق السماوات والارض فانها -- و القبض

و البسط

٢٨ - ح : نفس محمد يسده -- يوم لان يراني -- أحب اليه  
من أهله و ماله و مثلهم معهم

ش : أهله و ما له معهم

م : يوم لان يراني

٢٩ - ب : الحرب خدعة

ح : هلك كسرى ثم لا يكن كسرى -- و لتقسمن --

عز و جل ...

ش : سبيل الله ...

م : سبيل الله ...

٣٠ - ش : قال الله تعالى

٣١ - د : تركتكم ( و بالهامش : خ : تركتم )

ب : تركتكم ( و بالهامش : خ : تركتم ) -- فأتوا به

ح : أهلك -- فأتروا ما استطعتم

٣٢ - ح : فلا يصم

ش : و قد أجنب أحدكم فلا يصم

م : نودى بالصلاة

٣٣ - ب : لله تسع

ح : الا واحدا

ش : عليه و سلم ... تسعة -- الا واحد -- و هو وتر

م : قال أبو القاسم صلى الله عليه وسلم -- الا واحدا

٣٤ - ب : من فضل

ح : من فضل -- فيمن فضل عليه

ش : من فضل

٣٥ - د : طهور ( و بالهامش : خ : طهر )

ب : طهور ( و بالهامش : خ : طهر )

ش : طهر -- أن يغسله

ح : طهر -- أن يغسله

٣٦ - ح : ثم يحرق ( طبعة جديدة : تحرق ) ؛ ( و عند مسلم :

تحرق بيوت )

ش : لقد هممت -- أن يأخذوا حزم الخطب -- ثم

نحرق بيوتا على من فيها يعنى الذين يخلفون

عن الجماعة

م : و الذى نقى -- تحرق

٣٧ - ش : اعطيت جوامع الكلم و نصرت بالرعب

م : ...

٣٨ - ب : يمش -- ليحفهما

ح : يمش -- بنعل و الاخرى -- ليحفهما

م : ليحفهما

ش : بنعل و الاخرى

عند البخارى : بنعل واحدة - ليحفهيا / ليحفهيا  
( حسب الروايات )

٣٩ - ح : لم أكن قدرته له و لكننه يلفته ( طبعة جديدة :

يلقيه ) النذر بما قد قدرته له يستخرج به من  
البخيل يؤتيني -- آتاني عليه من قبل

ش : على ابن آدم -- يلقيه النذر ما قدرته ليستخرج به  
يؤتيني

م : ما لم يكن قد قدرته -- يلقيه

٤٠ - ح : ان الله عز و جل قال لى :

ش : قال الله لى

م : ان الله قال لى

٤١ - ب : ... ( ضاعت ورقة فى المخطوطة )

ح : عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام -- الا هو . قال  
عيسى آمنت

ش : فقال له قد سرقت -- كلا و الله الذى -- قال فقال

عيسى بن مريم -- كذبت بصرى .

عند مسلم : كذبت نفسى

٤٢ - ب ...

ح : و الله ما اوتيكم -- اصنع  
ش : فلا امنعكم لانما أنا -- امرت له

٤٣ - ب : ...

ح : انما جعل الامام -- و اذا كبر -- و اذا سجد  
ش : كبروا و اذا قال سمع الله -- و اذا ركع فاركع و اذا  
سجد -- فصلوا أجمعون جلوسا  
م : و اذا سجد -- جلوسا أجمعون

٤٤ - ب : ...

ش : ... و أقيموا الصف (سها المكاتب و حذف و قال  
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم )

٤٥ - ب : ...

ح : و باسناده قال -- و أخرجتم -- الذى أعطاك الله --  
و اصطفاك برسالاته -- كان قد كتب -- قال فحاج  
آدم موسى صلى الله عليه وسلم  
ش : حاج آدم و موسى قال موسى يا آدم أنت الذى  
-- أعطاك الله -- و اصطفاك -- برسالاته فقال نعم  
فقال أتلومنى أن أفعل أمرا كتب على -- قال فحج  
آدم و موسى ، مرتين .

م : أعطاك الله علم كل شىء و اصطفاك -- قد كتب  
على قبل أن أفعله من قبل أن أخلق

٤٦ - ب : ...

ح : خرّ عليه جراد - في ثوبه فناداه - أغنيك -

غنى بي

ش : إذ خرّ عليه جراد - فجعل يحتفي في ثوبه فقال

الرب يا أيوب أولم أكن أغنيك عن هذا المال

قال فقال رب و من يستغنى عن بركتك

م : عليه جراد - فقال بلى

٤٧ - ب : ...

ح : خففت على داود عليه السلام القراءة و كان يأمر

بدابته فتسرج و كان يقرأ القرآن قبل أن

ش : يأمر بدابته أن تسرج فيفرغ من القرآن قبل

أن تسرج

٤٨ - ب : ...

ش : رؤيا الصالح

٤٩ - ب : ...

ح : ليسلم

ش : الكبير و الماشى على القاعد

م : ليسلم

٥٠ - ب : ...

ح : و باسناده قال رسول الله -- منى أموالهم و أنفسهم

إلا بحقها و حسابهم على الله عز و جل

ش : حتى يقولوا لا إله إلا الله ... فقد عصموا منى

أموالهم و أنفسهم إلا بحقها و حسابهم على الله

م : منى أموالهم و أنفسهم إلا بحقها و حسابهم على

الله جل و عز

٥١ - ب : ...

ح : و سفلتهم و عرثهم ( طبعة جديدة : غرثهم ) -- الله

عز و جل للجنة -- أنت رحمة -- يضع الله عز و جل

-- قط قط قط أى حسبي -- الله ينشئ

ش : بالجبارين و المتكبرين -- مالى -- من شئت -- للنار

أنت -- لكلكما على ملائها فأما الجنة فينشئ الله

لها خلقا و أما النار فتمتلى و يزوا بهضها إلى بهض

-- خلقه أحدا ...

م : يضع الله جل و عز فيها قدمه -- الله ينشئ لها

٥٢ - ب : ...

٥٣ - ب : ...

ح : ... ( حذف الجملة : « قال الله تعالى » ) -- ما لم

يفعلها -- بعشرة أمثالها -- يفعل سيئة -- اغفرها

ما لم يفعلها



ش : ... ( حذف الجملة : « قال الله تعالى » ) — حسنة

فأنا أكتبها له بمثلها فاذا عملها — أغفرها له فان

لم يفعلها فاذا فعلها فأنا أكتبها له بمثلها

م : عشر أمثالها — أغفرها مالم

٥٤ - ب : ...

ح : و باسناده — ... ( حذف كلمة : « والله » ) —

خير مما

ش : ... ( حذف الكلمة « والله » ) — خير مما بين

السماء و الارض له

٥٥ - ح : الجنة أن يقول تمن ، و يتمنى فيقول له

ش : الجنة إن هوّن له بالجنة يقال له تمن — فيقول الله

هل — إن لك

م : إذ هيء له — فيتمنى فيقال

٥٦ - ح : لاندفعت في شعبهم

ش : و يندفع الانصار — في شعبتهم

م : في شعب — و الانصار في شعب

٥٧ - ب : لم يخبت

ح : و باسناده قال قال رسول الله — إسرائيل لم يخنز

ش : لم يخنز الخنز

٥٨ - ب : و عليك السلام و رحمة الله قال فكل

ح : خلق الله عز وجل -- خلقه قال له -- يحيونك --

فقالوا السلام عليك و رحمة الله فزادوه -- آدم  
و طوله -- فلم يزل الخلق ينقص الخلق بعد

د : يحيونك ( و بالهامش : خ معا : يحيونك ) -- فزادوا  
( و بالهامش : خ معا : فزادوه )

ش : فقال -- آدم و طوله -- فلما خلقه الله قال له --

اولئك النفر قال و اذا نفر من الملائكة -- السلام

عليك و رحمة الله فزادوه -- صورة أيهم آدم --

ثم لم يزل الخلق ينقصون

م : يحيونك -- فزادوه « و عليك » -- آدم و طوله

٥٩ - ب : الله عينه

ح : و باسناده قال قال -- موسى عليه السلام -- الله عينه

وقال ارجع -- توارت بيدك -- قال و قال رسول الله

-- و الله لو أتى -- جنب الطريق

ش : موسى ليقبضه فكان منه إليه فرجع إلى ربه -- عبد

لا يريد الموت فقال ارجع إليه -- فالآن يا رب

من قريب

م : إلى الله فقال -- قال و قد فقأ -- و قال ارجع

٦٠ - ح : و باسناده قال و قال -- و كان موسى عليه السلام

-- بثوب موسى -- موسى يأمره -- الحجر بعد حتى

نظر اليه -- ان بالحجر ندبا

ش : قال و كان موسى لا يغتسل معهم فقالوا انه لا يمنعه

أن يغتسل -- فذهب يغتسل يوما فوضع -- فر

الحجر -- فجمح بأثره -- حجر ثوبي ، حجر ثوبي --

إسرائيل فقالوا و الله ما به من بأس و قام الحجر

حتى نظر اليه -- ضربا بالحجر قال و قال أبو هريرة

فوالله إنه بالحجر ندبا

٦١ - ح : عن كثرة

ش : الغنا غنا العرض

٦٢ - ح : و اذا اتبع

٦٣ - ش : أغيظ رجل يوم القيامة و أخبشه و أغمطه على الله

رجل يسمى ملك الملوك

م : رجل يسمى

٦٤ - ح : خسفت به -- حتى يوم القيامة

ش : في برده إذ أعجبته فخسفت به

م : بردين قد أعجبته

٦٥ - ش : قال الله أنا

م : سلم أنا

٦٦ - ح : ما من مولود يولد الا على هذه الفطرة -- تنتجون

الابل فهل تجدون فيها جدعا.

ش : على الفطرة -- أو ينصّرانه -- تنتجون ابل-كم هل

تكون فيها -- تجدعوننا -- قال فقال الله أعلم

م : على الفطرة -- أو ينصّرانه -- فهل تجدون

٦٧ - ح : أى عظم هو قال

ش : عظما واحدا -- يركب منه -- قيل يا رسول الله --

قال هو عجب الذنب

م : فيه يركب الخلق يوم القيامة -- أى عظم هو --

عجب الذنب

٦٨ - ب : اياكم والوصال ... قالوا

ح : انك تواصل -- فى ذاكم

ش : اياكم والوصال، مرتين أو ثلاثا، قالوا يا رسول الله

فانك تواصل فقال -- فى ذلك -- من الاعمال

م : إياكم والوصال ...

٦٩ - ح : أحدكم من نومه

ش : ...

٧٠ - ح : تطلع الشمس -- على دابته تحمله -- له متاعه عليها

-- وقال الكلمة -- وقال كل خطوة يمشيها

ش : في كل يوم تطلع الشمس فيه قال... تعين الانسان  
على الدابة فتحمله -- ترفع متاعه عليها... و كل  
خطوة -- وإمالة الاذى عن الطريق صدقة  
و الكلمة الطيبة صدقة

م : قال و كل خطوة

٧١ - ح : حقها بسط ( طبعة جديدة : تساط ) عليه

ش : إذا ما لم يعط رب النعم حقها سلط

٧٢ - ب : يفر منه و يطلبه

ح : و يفرّ

م : و يفر

٧٣ - ح : لا تبل -- ثم تغتسل منه

ش : لا تبل -- تغتسل به

٧٤ - ب : المسكين الذي يطوف

ش : الطواف الذي ترده -- و لكن المسكين

٧٥ - ب : عن غير أمره

ح : عن غير أمره

ش : لا تصم - و بعلمها شاهد يوما واحدا إلا -- فله  
نصف أجره

م : عن غير أمره

٧٦ - ح : لا يتمن -- ولا يدع -- عمله وانه لا يزيد المؤمن

من عمره (طبعة جديدة : المؤمن عمره)

ش : ولا يدع -- يأتيه فان المؤمن يزيد على طول عمره

خييرا

م : المؤمن عمره

٧٧ - ش : فان الكرم

٧٨ - ح : فقال . . . الذى اشترى -- الذى باع الارض --

قال فتحاكما -- قال أحدهما -- جارية قال -- على

أنفسهما

ش : العقار فيها جرة من ذهب -- الذى اشتراها له انى

اشترى الارض ولم ابيع الذهب فقال الذى

اشترى الارض بعثك -- أحدهما نعم لى غلام --

قال فانكحوا -- أنفسهما

م : باع الارض بعثك -- قال فتحاكما -- أنكحوا --

أنفقوا عليهما و على أنفسكما

٧٩ - ب : ضلت . . . ثم وجدها

ش : براحلته اذا وجدها اذا ضلت فقالوا نعم -- فقال

و الذى نفسى بيده -- بتوبة عبده من أحدكم بضالته

اذا وجدها

٨٠ - ح : جثته ... بأسرع

ش : عبدی یشیر

م : بأسرع منه

٨١ - ح : من الماء ثم لينثر

مسلم : لينثر

ش : بمنخريه الماء

م : من الماء

٨٢ - ح : أحدا عندي -- يقبله مني ليس شيئا

ش : أحدا عندي -- ثلاث ... و عندي -- دينار واحد

لدين

م : ثلاث ... و عندي

٨٣ - ح : جاء أحدهم الصانع -- عناه حره -- فلقموه في

يده ...

ش : بطعام قد أعيا حره -- في يده ...

م : اذا جاء الصانع بطعام

٨٤ - ب : سيدي مولاي

ح : اسق ربك أطعم ربك -- سيدي و مولاي -- عبدی

و أمي و ليقل فتاتي و غلامي

ش : ( مرتين فقسم الحديث قسمين : في حديث :



ولا يقل أحدكم لسيدته ربي وليقل سيدي، ولا يقل  
الخ، وفي حديث آخر: «لا يقل أحدكم اسق  
ربك وأطعم ربك وضربك ولا يقل أحدكم  
ربي وليقل سيدي» ( )

م : وأطعم ربك وضربك -- سيدي وولاي  
-- أو غلامى

٨٥ - ح : صورتهم على صورة -- لا يبصقون ولا يتفلون  
فيها ولا يتمخطون فيها -- أمشاطهم الذهب --  
بجامرهم الالوة -- مخ ساقيهما

ش : إن أول زمرة -- البدر لا يبرقون فيها ولا  
يتمخطون ولا يتغوطون فيها -- بجامرهم الالوة  
ورشجهم كرشج المسك لسكر رجل -- مخ سوقهما  
من وراء الثياب -- قلب واحد ... قال عبدالرزاق  
الالوة هذه العود الحل

م : لا يبصقون ولا -- ساقيهما

٨٦ - ب : ... ( ضاعت ورقة من المخطوطة )

ح : لن تخلفنيه -- فاجعلها له

ش : لن تخلفنيه -- المؤهنين ... جلادته أو لعنته أو شتمته

أو سبيته فاجعلنا أصلا -- تقربه يوم القيامة

م : لن تخلفناه — فاجعلها له

٨٧ - ب : ...

ح : لمن قبلنا

ش : لا أحد قبلنا فرأى ضعفنا

٨٨ - ب : ...

ح : دخلت النار امرأة — جراء هرة ربطتها — ترمم

مسلم : هرة لها أو هر

ش : جراء هرة ربطتها — ترمم

م : هرة لها أو هر

٨٩ - ب : ...

ح : سارق حين يسرق وهو مؤمن — زان حين يزني

وهو مؤمن — يشرب الشارب حين يشرب وهو

مؤمن يعنى الخمر . والذى نفس محمد بيده ولا

ينتهب — فاياكم إياكم

ش : ولا يزني أحدكم — يشرب الحدود يعنى الخمر —

مؤمن ولا ينتهب نهبة يرفع المؤمنون إليه أعينهم

— يغل مؤمن فاياكم وإياكم

م : فاياكم وإياكم

٩٠ - ب : ...

ش : أحد يعني من هذه الامة -- فمات ولا يؤمن بي

م : بالذى أرسلت إلا

٩١ - ب : ...

ش : للنساء يعني في الصلاة

م : للقوم أى للرجال

٩٢ - ب : ...

ح : كلم يكلمه -- ثم يكون يوم القيامة -- تنفجر دما -

المسك قال أبى يعنى « العرف ، الريح

ش : كلية يكلمه -- يكون كهيتها القيامة إذا طعنت يعنى

دما و اللون لون الدم -- المسك قال عبد الرزاق

العرف عندنا الريح

م : كهيتها يوم طعنت تفجر ( و بالهامش : كهيتها

إذا أصيب ) - عرف مسك

٩٣ - ب : ...

ح : ( هو رقم ٩٤ في ترتيب ابن حنبل ) فن خلق

الله عز و جل

ش : لا يزالون يستفتون حتى يقولوا

م : ( هو عنده تحت رقم ٩٤ )

٩٤ - ب : ...

ح : ( هو رقم ٩٣ عنده ) — تكون صدقة فالقيها ولا  
آكلها

ش : ساقطة فأرفعها لآكلها فأخشي أن تكون صدقة

م : ( هو تحت رقم ٩٣ عنده )

٩٥ - ب : ...

ح : والله لأن — فرض الله عز وجل — أتم ( طبعة  
جديدة : آثم )

ش : في يمينه أثم له من أن يأتي الكفارة التي فرض  
الله فيها

م : والله لأن — أثما عند الله خير من — فرض الله عليه

٩٦ - ب : ...

د : فاستحباها

ح : واستحباها فليستها عليها ( طاعة جديدة :  
واستحباها )

ش : اكره اثنان اليمين فاستحباها فليستها عليه

م : فاستحباها

٩٧ - ب : ...

ح : شاة مصرة فهو بخير — إما يرضى

ش : شاة مصرة — يحلها ما هي — و معها صاع من تمر

م : أو قال شاة مصراة

٩٨ - ب : ...

ح : الشيخ على حب اثنتين

ش : لا يزال قلب الشيخ ساب

٩٩ - ب : ...

ح : لا يمشين أحدكم الى أخيه - الشيطان ينزع

في يده البخارى فى كتاب الفتن : يشيرن

ش : قال و قال كانه يعنى النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم لا

يشير أحدكم - بالسلاح ينزع الشيطان فى يده

فيلقيه - فى يده

م : أخيه ( و بالهامش : رفيقه )

١٠٠ - ب : ...

ح : غضب الله عز و جل

ش : قتله

١٠١ - ب : ...

ح : كتب على ابن آدم - أدرك لا محالة ... فالعين -

النظر و يصدقها الاعراض - و القلب التمنى -

و الفرج يصدق ما ثم و يكذب

ش : ابن آدم من الزنا - و يصدق ما ثم الفرج أو يكذبه

م : أحدث أحدكم إسلامه

١٠٢ - ب : ...

ح : ( حديث رقم ١٣٧ مذکور بین ١٠١ و ١٠٢ عنده )

ش : إذا حسن إسلام أحدكم كتبت كل حسنة له بعشر

— ضعف و كتبت عليه كل سيئة بمثلها — يلقى

الله ...

١٠٣ - ب : ...

ح : إذا ما قام أحدكم — وإذا قام

١٠٤ - ب : ...

ح : رب ذاك عبدك

ش : يا رب عبدك فلان يريد — قال وهو أعلم به —

فانما تركها

١٠٥ - ح : ولم يكن له ذلك و شتمني و لم يكن له ذلك ...

تكذبه — فلن يعيدنا — شتمه اياي يقول

ش : قال الله كذبتني عبدك و لم يكن له أن يكذبتني

و يشتمني عبي و لم يكن له أن يشتمني فاما تكذبه

اياي فان يقول فليعدنا — فان يقول — يكن له

م : يقول الله تعالى — له ذلك — له ذلك

١٠٦ - ح : من الحر

م : عن الصلاة

١٠٧- ح : لا يقبل الله صلاة

م : ( و بالهامش قسم من العبارة غير واضحة « ... ما

أحدث يا أبا هريرة قال فصا أو شرط ، )

١٠٨- ح : تمشون عليكم بالسكينة — و ما فاتكم فاقضوا

ش : فأتوها تحشون فما أدركتم

١٠٩- ح : قالوا كيف

ش : إلى رجلين — كليهما — قال يقتل في سبيل الله

فيدخل الجنة — الآخر شهد به الاسلام فيقاتل في

سبيل الله

م : قالوا كيف

١١٠- ح : ولا يخطب أحدكم على

ش : ولا يخطب أحدكم

١١١- ح : ( عنده زيادة كالحاشية : « حدثنا عبد الله قال سمعت

أبي يقول قلت لعبد الرزاق : يا أبا بكر ، أفضل

يعنى هذا الحديث كأنه أعجبه حسن هذا الحديث

وجودته قال نعم )

١١٢- ح : حدثنا عبد الله حدثني أبي ، ثنا عبد الرزاق بن

همام ، ثنا معمر عن همام عن أبي هريرة قال —



لم يسم خضرا الا أنه جلس — خضراء . الفروة  
الحشيش الايض وما يشبهه . قال عبد الله أظن  
هذا تفسيراً من عبد الرزاق

ش : و به عن رسول الله — لم يسم خضر الا أنه جلس  
— فاهتز تحته

م : سمي الخضر خضرا

١١٣ - ب : يعنى ازاره

ح : القيامة ...

م : يعنى ازاره

١١٤ - ب : يغفر لكم

ح : يغفر لكم — فى شعره

ش : أستأهم و قولوا حبة فى شعرة

م : نغفر لكم — فى شعرة

١١٥ - م : فليضطجع ( و بالهامش : ن : فليصرف )

١١٦ - ح : ( حذف جملة « قال الله تعالى » ) ... لا يقول —

الدهر إني أنا

ش : ... قال الله تعالى لا يقولن أحدكم و اخيبة —

أرسله ليله و نهاره

م : و اذا شئت

١١٧- ح : نعم ما للمملوك أن يتوفى بحسن عبادة الله و صحابة  
سيد . نعم له ...

ش : بالمملوك — عبادة الله و حسن صحابة سيد ...

١١٨- ح : أحدكم من الصلاة — فانه مناج لله

ش : اذا ما صلى أحدكم فلا يبصق بين يديه — يناجى  
ربه — ملكا وليبصق عن يساره ...

م : أحدكم للصلاة — فى مصلاه ( و بالهامش : فى

صلاة ) — أمامه انه يناجى الله جل و عز — ولكن

ينزق

١١٩- ح : فقد ألغيت على نفسك ...

١٢٠- ح : كتاب الله فايكم ما — فأنا وليه — فليث ماله

ش : ديننا أو ... فأنا وليه و انكم ترك مالا و المال

لعصبته من كان منهم أولى به

م : ان أولى الناس

١٢١- ح : و ارحمنى — و ارزقنى ... اعزم

ش : شئت اللهم ارحمنى ان شئت اللهم ارزقنى . ليعزم

مسأله فان الله يفعل

م : ولكن ليعزم المسألة

١٢٢- ح : الانبياء فقال لقومه — قد ملك بضع امرأة وهو

يريد -- ولم يكن ولا أحد قد بنى بنيانا -- سقفا،  
ولا أحد -- ينتظر أولادها -- من القرية حين صلاة  
-- أبت أن تطعم -- فلتبايعني قبيلتك -- فلتصق  
بيد -- فأكلته، فلم تحل -- لأن الله عز وجل

ش : قال و قال ... ( بياض ) فقال لقومه -- لما بنى بها  
-- بنا بنيانا -- آخر استرا غنما خلفات -- فانتهى الى  
القرية حين العصر أو قريبا منه -- مأمور فاحبسها  
-- فحبسها الله عليه حتى فتح عليه فجمعوا الغنائم  
-- فلم تطعمه -- قال فقال ان فيكم غلولا -- رجل  
قال فلتصقت -- فلتصقت بيد -- ثلاثة فقال -- أتم  
غلالم -- ذهب فاقبلت فأكلته قال فلم تحل --  
لأحد قبلنا

م : امرأة و هو يريد -- لما يبنى -- قد بنا بناء -- حين  
صلاة العصر -- فلتبايعني قبيلتك -- قبيلته فلتصقت  
يد رجلين -- ثلاثة فقال -- ذلك أن الله

١٢٣ - ب : بينا أنا نائم -- أبو بكر الصديق

ح : على حوضي -- يدى ليرفه حتى نزع ذنوبا أو ذنوبين  
-- ضعف ... قال فأثنى ابن الخطاب والله يغفر له  
فأخذها منى فلم ينزع رجل حتى تولى الناس

ش : بينا أنا نائم أريت كأنني على حوض أنزع أسقى --

من يدي ليعينني فنزع ذنوبين -- يغفر له فجاء عمر

ابن الخطاب فلم يزل ينزع حتى تولى الناس

م : بينا أنا -- ضعف فأتاني عمر بن الخطاب والله

يغفر له -- والحوض يتفجر

١٢٤ - ب : حمر الوجه فطس الانف

ح : خوذ وكرمان

ش : الخوز وكرمان قوما حمر الوجوه من الاعاجم

فطس

م : خوز وكرمان قوم

١٢٥ - م : ( عنده تحت رقم ١٢٦ )

١٢٦ - ح : تقاتلوا أقواما

ش : قوما بغى لهم

م : ( تحت رقم ١٢٥ )

١٢٧ - ح : الشأن ... مسلمهم

ب : كافر تبع

ش : الشأن ... مسلمهم

١٢٨ - ش : صالح نساء قریش

م : صالح نساء

- ١٢٩ - م : ونهى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عن الوشم  
 ١٣٠ - ح : ما كانت الصلاة هي تحبسه لا يمنعه... الا انتظارها  
 ش : فى الصلاة -- ما كانت الصلاة تحبسه لم يمنعه أن

يخرج

- م : ما كانت الصلاة هي  
 ١٣٢ - ب : أنا أولى بعيسى  
 ش : والآخرة الانبياء أبناء علات امهاتهم شتى --  
 وليس بيننا

- م : علات امهاتهم -- وليس  
 ١٣٣ - ب : نائم اذ اوتيت  
 ح : نائم اوتيت بخزائن  
 ١٣٤ - ب : ليس واحد منكم  
 ح : واحد بمنجيه  
 ش : ينجيه  
 م : ينجيه

- ١٣٥ - ح : وقال نهى عن بيعتين -- ونهى عن اللس والنهش  
 ش : قال أبو هريرة نهى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
 عن ( = بياض ) وعن سعترا ان يحى الرجل فى  
 ثوب واحد ليس بينه وبين السماء شئ. أو يشمل

في ازار يوصل فيه -- بين طرفيه ونهى عن اللس

ونهى عن النجش

م : قال ونهى -- اللس

١٣٦ - ح : وقال العجباء

ش : العجباء جرحها جبار والمعدن جبار وفي الركاز

الخنس . قال اسحاق : الجبار ، الهدر .

م : العجباء جرحها جبار . . . والمعدن

١٣٧ - ح : ( هذا الحديث بين رقم ١٠١ و ١٠٢ ) -- فأقمت

فيها فسهمكم فيها وأما

ش : قال وقال فأقمت فيها فسهمكم فيها -- ورسوله . .



## ( ألف ) سماعات في مخطوطة دمشق

( ١ ) كتب على لوح الكتاب ما يلي ( و الخط الفاصل يدل على السطر في الأصل ) :

أ - « صحيفة همام بن منبه رحمه الله رواية معمر عنه ، / رواية عبد الرزاق عنه ، رواية أحمد بن يوسف / السلي عنه ، رواية ابى بكر القطان عنه ، رواية / الامام أبى عبد الله بن منبه عنه ، رواية ابنه / عبد الوهاب عنه ، رواية الشيخ أبى الخير محمد ابن / أحمد المقدر عنه . رواية الشيخ الامام الاجل / الاوحد الحافظ تاج الدين بهاء الاسلام بديع الزمان / ابى عبد الله محمد ابن عبد الرحمن بن محمد المسعودى عنه / أصلحه الله و رضى عنهم أجمعين و سلم تسليماً كثيراً ، إلى يوم الدين . »

ب - و تحته : « سماع مالكة عبد الرحيم بن حمدان بن بركات و لله الحمد و المنة . »

ج - و تحته : « وقف نجم الدين أبو الحسن بن هلال أثابه الله ، / لله على جميع المسلمين بشرط أن لا يعار لأحد منهم إلا ... .  
... قيمته . »

( ٢ ) وفي آخر الكتاب ، على هامش الورقة ٩ / ب ، سماع من

أبي القاسم ابن عساكر، صاحب كتاب تاريخ دمشق، وهو في  
ثلاثة أسطر طوال وخمسة عشر قصار، بخط مغربي فنقطة الفاء  
تحت الحرف والقاف لها نقطة واحدة فوق الحرف، وقد كتب  
اسم «القاسم» و«خالد» بدون ألف. وهذا نصه: «[سم]ها  
من الحافظ أبي القاسم علي بن الحسن بن هبة الله، ومن الشيخ  
أبي علي الحسين بن علي بن الحسن بن عمر بن علي / البطلوسي،  
كليهما عن زاهر، عن أبي بكر محمد بن القسم الصفار، وأحمد  
ابن علي بن عبد الله بن خلد، وأبي الحسن / علي بن أحمد بن محمد  
المامعي (؟ الغافقي) . وزاد الحافظ أبو القسم: وأنا أيضا  
أبو الفضل محمد بن إسماعيل بن الفضيل الفضيلى / عن أبي سهل  
عبد الرحمن بن محمد / الماليني، كلهم / عن أبي طاهر محمد / بن محمد  
ابن كثير / عن أبي بكر محمد / بن الحسين القطان / بسنده محمد  
ابن / هبة الله الشيرازي / وأبو البركات / الحسن، وأخوه / أحمد.  
ابنا محمد / بن الحسن وآخرون / في شوال سنة تسع وخمسين  
وخمسمائة .

(٣) وفي أواخر عين الورقة سماع في ثلاثة أسطر وقد  
انمحى بعض الكلمات وهذا نصه: «سمعا من أبي عبد الله محمد  
ابن عبد الرحمن المسعودي بقراءته جماعة، أبو محمد بن أبي بكر  
ابن أحمد البلخي» وذلك يوم الاثنين السادس من ربيع الآخر.



سنة خمس و سبعين و خمسمائة ، و ابو الفرج نصر (؟) و المظفر  
ابن أبي الفنون العتابي ، و ابو الطاهر / إسماعيل بن ظافر بن عبد الله  
العقيلي ، و نبأ بن مكارم بن حجاج الحنفي ، و ابو محمد بن  
عبد المحسن بن ابراهيم الزجاج . .

(٤) و في الورقة ١٠ / ألف سماع يحتوى على الصفحة بتمامها  
في (٢٤) سطراً ، ما نصه : « بلغ السماع لجميع هذه الصحيفة  
و هي صحيفة همام بن منبه على الشيخ الفقيه الامام العالم تاج الدين  
بهاء المسلمين بد [بع الزمان] / أبي عبد الله محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن  
محمد بن أبي الحسن المسعودي البندهي الخراساني أحسن الله عاقبة  
أمره بقراءته علينا من أصل [١٠٠٠] / المنقول منه في المدرسة  
الناصرية الصلاحية خلد الله ملك واقفها بشجر دمياط حماه الله  
تعالى ، الأمراء والسادة الفقهاء [إ.هـ] / عماد الدين أبو الطاهر إسماعيل  
ابن الأمير ظهير الدين ابو ( كذا ) اسحق بن الأمير ناصر الدولة  
متولى حرب الثغر المذكور يومئذ و [١٠٠٠] / الأمير جمال الدين  
أبو الفضل موسى و الفقيه الأجل الامام العالم نضر الدين أبو بكر  
ابن موصل بن امام بن حرب المارابي [١٠٠٠] / مدرس المدرسة  
المذكورة بالثغر و القاضي الأعز ابو محمد عبد السلام بن جماعة بن  
عثمان التنيسي ، والمعتمد [١٠٠٠] / عبد الغني بن إسماعيل بن ابراهيم ،  
و ولده ابو المنتصر عبد العزيز ، و الفلاس (؟) ابو علي الحسن بن

القاضي جلال الدولة أبي البركات ع[يد ٠٠٠] / بن أحمد ، وولده  
أبو الفضل محمد ، وأخوه المختص أبو محمد عبد العزيز ، والفقيه  
أبو محمد عبد الباقي بن جعفر التنيسي وأبو [٠٠٠] / ناصر بن  
صمصام بن سباع المؤدب ، وأبو الحسن علي بن معالي بن علي  
الدمياطي [؟ الدمياطي] ، والفقيه الخطيب أبو القاسم عبد الرحمن  
ابن [٠٠٠] / بن عبد الرحمن الدمياطي ، وأمير الملك أبو البركات  
عبد الرحمن محمد بن طلحة الدمياطي ، والعفيف أبو الفضل محمد  
ابن القاضي ا [٠٠٠] / أبو البركات محمد بن سليم ، وعبد الواحد  
ابن اسمعيل بن ظافر الدمياطي ، وعبد الله بن أبي الحسن بن علي  
ابن أبي الرجا ، و[القاضي] / أبو علي الحسن بن القسم بن عتيق (؟)  
التنيسي ، وعبد الرحمن بن أحمد بن عبد الوهاب الدمياطي ،  
وصفي الدين أبو الفتح نص[ر بن] / مظفر بن الجلال الرحبي ،  
وفتح الدين عمر بن تميم بن أحمد التميمي ، وولداه محمد  
وعبد الرحمن ، وأبو الفتح محمد بن عبدا [٠٠٠] / بن أحمد والخاص  
أبو محمد عبد الله بن القاضي ضياء الدين أبي القسم هبة الله بن  
أحمد ، وعبد الوهاب بن محمد بن عبدا [٠٠٠] / وأبو الفضل طلحة  
ابن القاضي النفيس أبي المعالي محمد بن حذيفة الدمياطي ، والرضي  
أبو الفضل رضوان بن مسلم المصري و [٠٠٠] / بن عبد الله الناصر ،  
وأبو المحرم مكي بن أبي نصر فتح بن رافع المصري ، وأبو الفضل

مرتضا بن ابي الحسين محمد بن علي [٠٠٠] / التيسبي المالكي ،  
وعبد الغني بن عبد الرحمن بن صدقة الحلبي الدمياطي ، و ابو المنصور  
و ابو الحسين ولدا القاضي [٠٠٠] / صالح بن أبي كثير . و ناصر  
ابن سالم بن ناصر ، و نصر بن كريم بن علي ، و منصور بن علي  
ابن حجاج الدمياطيون و ابو الحرم مكي [ بن ٠٠٠ ] بن الحلاوي  
البرار المقرئ ، و ابو عمران موسى بن محمد بن محمد الدربندي ،  
و ابو الحسن علي بن احمد بن طاهر المؤذن [ ذن ] ، و ولده محمد  
وعبد الوهاب ، و أخو المؤذن المذكور ، و الفقيه النجيب ابو منصور  
فتح بن محمد بن علي بن خلف الشافعي ا [ ٠٠٠ ] و ولده محمد  
و عبدالله ، و مسعود مملوك الفقيه المدرس المقدم ذكره . و كاتب  
هذا السماع مالك الجزء العبد الف[قير] / عبد الرحيم بن حمدان  
ابن بركات الشافعي حامداً لله تعالى . و ذلك في السادس والعشرين  
من ذي القعدة سنة سب[ع و سبعين] و خمسمائة . و صحّ  
لجميعهم ذلك . و الحمد لله وحده و صلواته على محمد وآله وسلامه .  
فيه ملحق من محمد بن ٠٠٠٠ ( ؟ ) ، و تحته خط عارض .  
و تحت الخط . صح سماعهم . في . و كتبه محمد بن عبد الرحمن  
ابن محمد المسعودي و لله الحمد .

هـ) و على الورقة . / ب سماعات . أو لها : « سمع جميع  
هذا الجزء . من أوله الى آخره على الشيخة الصالحة الصيئة

أم الفضل كريمة بنت الشيخ الأمين / نجم الدين عبد الوهاب بن  
علي بن الخضر القرشية الزيرية الأسدية صاب الله قدرها  
باجازتها / من الشيخ الأصيل أبي الخير محمد بن الباعنان (؟)  
عن الإمام [١] بن منبه بقراءة الإمام العالم الفاضل / كمال الدين  
أبي العباس أحمد بن أبي الفضائل ابن أبي المجد الدخيمسي نفعه الله ،  
عمر بن محمد بن منصور / الأميني . وهذا خطه عفا الله عنه .  
وصح و ثبت يوم الثلاثاء سابع عشر شهر ربيع الأول سنة /  
ثلاث وعشرين و ستمائة بمنزلها عمر بطول بقائها من درب المسك  
بدمشق . و الحمد لله حق حمده .

(٦) و تحته بخط أندلسي عن يد البرزالي الاشبيلي : و سمع  
جميع هذه الصحيفة على الشيخ الأجل المقرئ أبي عبد الله محمد  
ابن أبي / بكر بن محمد البلخي لسماعه فيه صاحبها السيد الأجل  
العالم النبيه المثقن / ثقة المحرثين كمال الدين أبو العباس أحمد بن  
أبي الفضائل بن أبي المجد بن الدخيمسي و فقه الله و إياي / و الفقهاء  
نجيب الدين أبو الفتح نصر الله بن أبي العز بن أبي طالب الصفار ،  
و أبو محمد عبد الواحد / بن عبد السيد بن أبي البركات الصقلي ،  
و إبراهيم بن عبد الله بن [؟ عثمان ، غسان] المازوي المغربي ، /  
و محمد بن يوسف بن محمد البرزالي الاشبيلي بقراءته و هذا خطه  
يوم الأربعاء الثالث عشر من / شهر جمادى الآخرة سنة ثلاث

وعشرين وستمائة بزواية بن عروة من جامع / دهشق حماها الله  
والحمد لله وحده وصلاته على نبيه محمد و سلامه . .

(٧) وتحت سماع نصه : « سمع جميع هذه الصحيفة على  
الحافظ ابي محمد عبد القادر بن عبد الله الرهاوى نحو ( ؟ بحق )  
سماعه / من ابي الفرج مسعود بن الحسن الصيفي عن عبد الوهاب  
ابن محمد بن يحيى بن منده عن ابيه محمد / بقرامة اسمعيل بن ظفر  
النايلسى ، يحيى بن [ أ ] بن منصور بن [ أ ] بن الفتح الصيرفي في  
آخرين / منهم مثبت الأسماء ابو منصور بن [ أ ] بن الفضل ابن  
[ أ ] بن محمد البغدادي وذلك في شهر ربيع الأول سنة تسع  
وستمائة نقله من خطه مختصراً على بن محمد بن عمر بن هلال  
الأزدى ( ؟ ) الأزدي ( ؟ ) . - لعل المراد سنة ٦٢٩ أو بعدها  
الى ٦٦٩ فان هذا السماع بعد سماع البرزالي من سنة ٦٢٣ ،  
فلا يكون من ٦٠٩ كما في النص . والسماع التالى من ٦٧ من  
نفس الشيخ الرهاوى .

(٨) وتحت سماع وهو آخر السماع ، مانصه : « قرأت جميع  
هذا الجزء على الشيخ الامام العالم العامل مفتى المسلمين ابي زكريا  
يحيى بن / ابي منصور بن ابي الفتح الصيرفي الجراز ، عرضاً بأصل  
سماعه من ابي محمد الرهاوى بسنده / فسمعنى صاحبه الصدر الجليل  
نجم الدين أبو الحسن على بن عماد الدين محمد بن عمر بن هلال /

الأزدى ، و عماد الدين عبد المحسن بن محمد بن احمد بن هبة الله  
ابن أبي جرادا (؟) ، و عبد الرحمن / و محمد ابنا عماد الدين محمد بن  
عبد الغفار بن عبد الخالق الأنصارى ، و محمد بن الشيخ ابراهيم  
ابن / محمد القرمشك (؟) و جلال الدين ابراهيم بن اسمعيل بن  
مبارك الحلبي و آخرون على ' الأصل - و صح و ثبت عشية  
يوم الاثنين سادس ذى حجة سنة سبعين و ستمائة و كتب /  
عبد الرحمن بن خميس (؟) بن يحيى بن محمد القرشى عفا الله عنه  
حامداً لله و مصلياً ■ ■

و به تمت المخطوطة

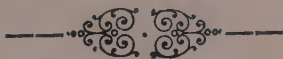


## ب) مخطوطة برلين

نقل كاتب نسخة برلين ما وجد في آخر المنقول منه .  
وهو كما يلي : « صورة السماع :

« الحمد لله قرأت جميع هذه الصحيفة على جدى شيخ  
الاسلام الخطيبى أجمال ابى محمد عبد الله بن جماعة أدام الله  
رفعته ، و اجيزبه عن العلامة ابى اسحاق ابراهيم بن احمد بن  
عبد الواحد الشافعى ، إجازة عن القاسم بن محمود بن مظفر بن  
عساكر ، و ابى نصر محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن هبة الله بن عميل  
(؟ جهيل) إجازة ، قال : انا ابو الوفا محمود بن ابراهيم بن منده  
إجازة إن لم يكن سمعاً ، انا أبو الفرج مسعود بن الحسن الثقفى  
كذلك ، انا ابو عمرو عبد الوهاب بن منده بسنده أول الجزء ،  
فسمعه سيدى والدى الخطيبى الاء مامى العالم ابو اسحق ابراهيم  
ابن المسمع ، و أخواه شرف الدين موسى و بدر الدين محمد ،  
و الإخوان : العلامة نجم الدين محمد و محب الدين احمد ؛  
و الفضلاء : زين الدين عبد الكريم بن ابى الوفا ، و شمس الدين  
محمد بن الجمال يوسف بن الصفى ، و زين الدين عبد الرحمن بن  
احمد بن غازى ، و علاء الدين على بن خليل بن با قيس ،  
و برهان الدين ابراهيم بن القاضى تاج الدين عبد الوهاب بن

قاضي الصلوات ، و غرس الدين خليل بن القاضي شهاب الدين  
احمد بن قطيبا ، و على بن الحسن بن الوزان . و المسمع اجازهم  
لافظا . و صح ذلك و ثبت نهار الأحد خامس و عشرين من  
ربيع الأول من سنة ٨٥٦ ، قاله و كتبه اسمعيل بن جماعة حامداً  
مصلياً مسلماً محسباً . و تحته بخط اغلظ منه ما صورته : صحيح  
ذلك كتبه عبد الله بن جماعة غفر الله له . .





(ج) مخطوطة مصر

تمت صحيفة همام بن منبه و الحمد لله .

«... عبد الله بن عيسى بن عبيد الله بن عيسى المرادى الاندلسي  
سمع معي /... بحر (؟) على الشيخ الامام الزاهد الحافظ  
سراج الدين شمس الاسلام /... و السنة أبي بكر محمد بن علي  
ابن ياسر الانصارى الاندلسي الشيوخ... / الامام شمس الدين  
محمد بن الحسن بن محسن بن أبي المضاء البعلبي بن الشي... /  
الامام بن صنوان الدين رضوان بن ناصر بن عبيد المنعم  
الاشكندی و... / الامام أبو المفاخر عبد العزيز بن أبي بكر  
الجنزى و الشيخ الامام / اسمعيل بن أبي الكرم بن المبارك الرداني .  
و ذلك في العشر الآخر... / جمادى الاول من سنة سبع وخمسين  
و خمسمائة بالموصل و الحمد لله كثيرا .»

و على لوح الكتاب أيضا عبارات مطموسة صعبة  
القراءة . منها : « سماع يوسف بن عبد الهادي عن الله عنه ... »



### § 139. Text of the Sahifah of Hammam.

(The serial number of Hadiths is added to facilitate the reference)

(1/b)<sup>1</sup> With the name of God, the Most-Merciful, the All-Merciful. With Thy aid, O God !

Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds. The Divine inclination be towards His messenger Muhammad, and all those who belong to him !

Relating Hadith to us orally (*haddathana*) the shaikh, the imam, the majestic, the unique, the knower by heart, the crown of the faith, the glory of Islam, the unrivalled of his time,<sup>2</sup> Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Mas'ud al-Mas'udi, al-Bandahi,<sup>3</sup> —may God enable him (to the right path), and open his eyes to the defects of his person,—by reading out to us on 26th Dhu'l-Qa'dah 577 H. the original copy on which he had himself obtained the certificate of reading-listening (of this book), of which this is the transcript, in the Madrasah Nasiriyah Salahiyah,<sup>4</sup> —may God preserve for ever the dominion of him who has endowed that school ! — said:

Informing us (*akhbarana*), the shaikh, the trustworthy, the pious, Abu'l-Khair Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Muqaddar al-Isbahani, while it was being read out to him and I was listening, said:

§ Informing us, the shaikh Abu 'Amr Abd al-Wahhab

1. This is the number of the folio of Damascus MS.

2. These titles must have been added by his pupils, he himself using the formulas that follow.

3. Bandahi = of Panj-Deh, a village in Khurasan.

4. Founded by Salahuddin (532-589 H./1138-1193) in Damiette, Egypt.

5. After the formula "Bismillah", the Berlin MS. begins here.

ibn Abi 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Muhammad ibn Yahya ibn Mindah al-Isbahani said:

Informing us, my father, the imam, Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ishaq said:

Informing us, [Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn al-Husain al-Qattan said:

Informing us, my father the imam]<sup>1</sup> Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Husain ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Khalil al-Qattan said:

Relating Hadith to us, Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad ibn Yusuf as-Sulami said:

Relating Hadith to us, 'Abd ar-Razzaq ibn Hammam ibn Nafi' al-Himyari,

On the authority of Ma'mar,

On the authority of Hammam ibn Munabbih, said :

This is what Abu Hurairah related to us,

On the authority of Muhammad, messenger of God,— may God incline to him and preserve him, <sup>2</sup> — who said :

1. We are the last (in this world) but shall win the race on the day of the resurrection, even though those others were given the Book (of God) prior to us, and to us after them. Verily this day (of Friday) is what was made obligatory on them. Thereafter they disagreed in it, but God gave us guidance concerning it. They are therefore our followers: tomorrow (Saturday) to the Jews, and the day after tomorrow (Sunday) to

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1. The passage in the square brackets [ ] is to restore for reasons explained in the Introduction (§ 103–106).

2. This habitual formula will hence forward be given in the abbreviation GIP.

the Christians. <sup>1</sup>

2. And the Messenger of God GIP <sup>2</sup> said : My example and the example of the prophets before me is like that of a man who constructs rooms, and then makes them pretty and beautiful and perfect, except the space of ■ brick <sup>3</sup> in some corner out of the corners of the houses. People then go around (the house) and admire the construction, and ask: 'Why is not a brick laid here, that the building may become complete ?' Then the Messenger of God GIP said: I am that brick. <sup>4</sup>

3. And the Messenger of God GIP said: The example of a miser and the giver of charity (2/a) is that of two persons on whom are two iron coats of mail, or shields (or perhaps over-dress) mounting upto the breast or collar bones. As the giver of charity goes on bestowing some article of charity, the (coat) creeps over his body until it

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1. The same idea as in the first three lines of this Hadith is expressed in the Gospel of St Matthew, XX, 16; and for details see Bukhari, *Sahih*, Kitab al-Ijarah (37/8-9), as to how God has favoured Muslims more than the Jews and Christians. As to the rest of the Hadith, regarding Friday, it is to note that God completed the creation of the universe in six "days", last of which being Adam, on Friday at Midday (cf Ibn Hanbal, N° 8323). Adam does not wait till next day to offer his thanks and submission to the Lord, but does his duty immediately. Islam follows the practice of Adam for the congregational prayer of Friday.

2. See the foot note last but one.

3. This is the literal translation which, in the context seems to mean that a brick was lacking.

4. That is to say, the difference between Islam and the previous Divinely inspired religions is ■ question of final touches, the essential having always been the same.

remains to shield his fingers, and its trace is wiped out.<sup>1</sup> And whenever the miser spends anything, or thinks of it in his mind, every link of his coat of mail begins to bite in its own place; and he tries to widen it, but it does not widen.<sup>2</sup>

4. And the Messenger of God GIP said: Mine is the example of that person, who should have kindled a fire, and when the surroundings should be lighted up, the moths and other insects creeping on the earth that fall into the flame, begin to fall into the fire and that person tries to prevent them from falling but they overpower him and plunge into it. This is my case and yours: I try to save you from the fire (and shout): 'Move away from the fire, move away from the fire', but (you do not listen and) you overpower me and plunge yourselves into the fire.

5. And the Messenger of God GIP said : There is a tree (so large) in Paradise that if a horseman should ride under its shadow for a hundred years, he will not even then traverse it.<sup>3</sup>

6. And the Messenger of God GIP said: Avoid suspiciousness, avoid suspiciousness, for suspicion is the falsest of things to talk. And do not cheat yourselves in

1. The sense rests vague. From a literal and faithful translation what we are able to understand is that the coat of mails presses and does all to prevent the miser from realizing even his weak desire of doing a little charity, whereas the coat of mails disappears almost completely from the body of the charitable man, not remaining except on the weak points of his body in order to protect them from the possible attack of his enemies, nevertheless hindering neither any movement nor accomplishing the desire of doing the greatest possible charity.

2. This Hadith is lacking by Ibn Hanbal.

3. This tradition is missing in the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal.

transactions,<sup>1</sup> and do not envy one another, neither quarrel on account of personal ambition, nor bear grievance in the heart against one another, nor break off relationship. And O creatures of God, be brothers to each other.

7. And the Messenger of God GIP said: There comes an hour on Friday, when if any Muslim should, in the course of prayer, ask God for anything, He would certainly grant it.

8. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The angels of the night and the angels of the day come to you, turn by turn, and meet each other at the morning and the afternoon prayers. Then those who spent the night with you go to the On-High and He asks them—even though He is the best Knower of them— : ‘In what state did you leave My creatures ?’ They say: ‘We left them while they were (engaged) in prayer, and we came to them while they were (engaged) in prayer.’

9. And the Messenger of God GIP said: The angels send down blessings to everyone of you as long as he should be sitting at the place where he offered his prayer, and they (continue to) say: ‘O God, grant him salvation; O God, show him (Thy) mercy,’ until his ablutions should break.

10. And the Messenger of God GIP said: When anyone amongst you says *Amen*, and the angels also say *Amen* on the sky, and one coincides in time with the other, all his previous sins would be forgiven.

11. And Abu Hurairah said: Once a person was driving along an animal for sacrifice, with a garland tied round its neck. The Messenger of God GIP said : ‘Mount it.’ He answered: ‘O Messenger of God, this is an animal for sacrifice.’ The Messenger of God said : ‘Alack for thee, mount it; alack for thee, mount it.’

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1. See also the last part of No. 135, *infra*.

12. (2/b) And the Messenger of God GIP said: This your fire, which human beings kindle, is one seventieth part in heat of the heat of Hell ! The people said: 'By God, O Messenger of God, if it had been even so, that would have sufficed us.' He said: The fire of Hell is 69 times greater than this and the degree of the heat of each time is as much.<sup>1</sup>

13. And the Messenger of God GIP said: When God decided on creation, He prescribed a prescription, and this is with Him on the divine throne: 'Verily My mercy dominates My anger.'

14. And the Messenger of God GIP said: By Him in Whose hand is the life of Muhammad! if ye knew what I know, you would certainly have cried more and laughed less.

14. a.<sup>2</sup> And the Messenger of God GIP said: When anyone of you fights, let him avoid the face.

15. And the Messenger of God GIP said: Fasting is a shield. If anyone amongst you keep fast any day, he should neither behave wildly, nor should he indulge in indecent speech. If anyone fights with him or abuses him, he should answer: 'I am observing the fast, I am observing the fast.'

16. And the Messenger of God GIP said: By Him in Whose hands is the life of Muhammad! verily the odour of the mouth of him who fasts is, with God, better than the odour of musk. (God would say): "He leaves off his

1. Needless perhaps to remind that the "fire kindled by man" is not only of the kitchen or the furnace, but also now of the thermonuclear energy. The metaphor, far from losing its force, becomes the more impressive.

2. This tradition 14/a is lacking in the Damascus and Berlin MSS.

desires, his food and his drink for My sake. Thus the fast is for Me and I only shall reward him for it."

17. And the Messenger of God GIP said: One of the prophets camped under a tree. An ant stung him, upon which he had his goods taken out from there and set fire to the tree and had the ants burnt in the fire. Upon this a revelation (from God) came to him: 'Was not that (fault) of a brute one ant (and not of all the rest) ?'

18. And the Messenger of God GIP said: By Him in Whose hand is the life of Muhammad ! if there had not been the risk of hardship on the Believers, I would not have stayed behind any expedition which goes to fight in the path of God. But I do not find provision enough to arrange for the mounts of them all, and they too do not find provision enough to accompany me (of meeting their own expenses), and their hearts are not glad to stay behind me.

19. And the Messenger of God GIP said: Each of the prophets has a request of his granted (in advance, at his choice). If God likes, it is my intention to postpone—another version: *stock up* —my request for an intercession in favour of my people on the day of resurrection.

20. And the Messenger of God GIP said: He who desires to meet God, God also desires to meet him; and he who does not desire to meet God, God also does not desire to meet him.

21. And the Messenger of God GIP said: (3/a) He who obeys me, verily he has obeyed God. And he who disobeys me, verily he has disobeyed God. And he who obeys the commander (appointed by me), has verily obeyed me; and he who disobeys the commander, has verily disobeyed me.

22. And the Messenger of God GIP said: The Hour of the end of the world will not arrive until the time your possessions become abundant and float about, until the



rich man would begin to worry as to who would accept his zakat-tax. He added: And knowledge would be lifted off, and the time would approach nearer,<sup>1</sup> and disorder would arise, and the "*harj*" (commotion) would grow. (People asked: And the commotion), what is that, O Messenger of God? He said: Killing, killing!

23. And the Messenger of God GIP said: The hour of the end of the world will not arrive until two big groups fight with each other. Between these two will be a great killing, in spite of the fact that the two will affirm the same thing!

24. And the Messenger of God GIP said: The hour of the end of the world will not arrive until about thirty imposters should not have been provoked, and each of these will claim verily to be the messenger of God.

25. And the Messenger of God GIP said: The hour of the end of the world will not arrive until the sun should not arise from its setting place. When the sun should re-arise (thereafter) and people should see it, all would become Believers. But this would be at a time when a person's believing will not profit him, for he had neither believed before, nor had he done any good in the capacity of a believer.<sup>2</sup>

26. And the Messenger of God GIP said: When the call to prayer is made, the Devil turns away breaking the wind (in great dismay), so that the call for prayer might not be heard. When the call for prayer ends, he returns. When the announcement to get ready for prayer is made, he turns his back and goes away. And when the announcement

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1. The commentators have much differed as to the exact sense. Some of them have already during the Middle Ages thought that the differences of the seasons and of the duration of day and night would disappear, the two becoming perfectly equal all over the world.

2. Quran 6/158

ends, he returns to set up distracting thoughts between man and his mind, and tells him: 'Remember this thing, remember that thing,' which the man did not think of before,—until the person is not in a position to know how much of the prayer he has said.

27. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The right hand of God is full. Even spending night and day does not empty it. Just look what has not been expended by Him ever since His creation of the sky and the earth ! Even that does not diminish in the least what is held by Him in His right hand. He also said : And His throne is on the water,<sup>1</sup> and His other hand has the grip (to stop or let loose).<sup>2</sup> It is He who exalts, and it is He who lowers.<sup>3</sup>

28. And the Messenger of God GIP said : By Him in Whose hand is my life I to some of you will come a day when he will no more see me. At that time seeing me will be desired by him more than seeing his wife and children as well as his property and possessions.

29. And the Messenger of God GIP said ; Chosroes (king of Persia) will die and after him there will be no Chosroes; and Caesar (king of Byzantium) will die and after him there will be no Caesar. And you will spend the treasures of these two in the path of God. Moreover, he called "war" ■ *ruse*.<sup>4</sup>

30. And the Messenger of God GIP said : God — powerful and majestic is He — has said : I have kept (3/b)

1. Quran 11/7

2. Quran 2/245

3. Quran 56/3

4. Cf N° 40 *infra*. The last phrase of this Hadith is lacking in the version of Ibn Hanbal as well as in Cairo MS.

prepared for My pious slaves things which no eye has seen, nor ear has heard, nor has any idea of it entered the heart of any man.

31. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Leave me alone so long as I should leave you—another version : so long as you *be left*—alone, for the people who went before you asked questions of their prophets, and suffered perdition by opposing them. Hence when I forbid you to do something, shun it, and when I command you to do anything, act on it to the extent of your ability.

32. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When the call for Morning Prayer should be made and somebody amongst you should be in a state of sexual impurity, he should not keep fast that day.<sup>1</sup>

33. And the Messenger of God GIP said : There are 99 names of God, one less than a hundred. He who remembers<sup>2</sup> them will enter Paradise. God is odd (in number) and likes the odd number (in prayers, etc.).

34. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When any amongst you should see a person who should be superior in property and virtue, he should look at a person

1. Either this is an early direction, abrogated later, as is mentioned in the Quran 2/187 or means only to say not to go to the wife after the break of dawn during the fasting season. Some say even that it is a misunderstanding on the part of the narrator, Abu Hurairah.

2. The term "remember" does not mean mere learning by heart, but remembering the significance of the attributes of God in all one's actions : that God is omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, master of the day of judgement on Resurrection, etc. Of course this would prevent one from all evil, and prompt for all virtue.

who should be lesser placed than he, and not at one who should be higher.<sup>1</sup>

35. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When a dog should put its mouth in a vessel of anyone of you, he should wash it seven times to purify it.

36. And the Messenger of God GIP said : By Him in Whose hand is the life of Muhammad ! my heart desires that I order my boys to fetch me faggots of wood, and then I should command a person to conduct prayer, and thereafter I should set fire to the houses (of those who do not come for congregational prayer) along with those who should be therein.

37. And the Messenger of God GIP said : I am helped with dread and terror,<sup>2</sup> and I have been granted words — another sense : *speech* — full of meaning.<sup>3</sup>

38. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When the instep thong or finger string of the sandal of anyone of you should break, he should not walk wearing only one sandal, with the other foot bare. Either he should wear sandals on both feet or keep both feet bare.

39. And the Messenger of God GIP said : (God says :) By making a vow, man does not obtain anything which I should not have predestined for him, but by making a vow when the man obtains that which I should have predestined for him, I get (some charity) out of the miser and he offers that to Me which he had never offered before.

40. And the Messenger of God GIP said : God says : 'Spend in charity, I shall spend on thee (more).' And he called "war" a *ruse*.<sup>4</sup>

1. This in order to be grateful to God, and to be cured of jealousy.

2. i.e., requiring no fight.

3. i.e., few words, more meaning.

4. cf. supra N° 29.

41. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Jesus son of Mary saw a person committing theft. Jesus asked : '[ Didst thou commit theft ? He said : 'Never, I swear by Him, than Whom there is none worthier of worship !' Jesus said : I believe God and falsify my eye.<sup>2</sup>

42. And the Messenger of God GIP said : I neither give you anything, nor keep back anything from you. I am only a treasurer. I place where I am ordered to place.

43. And the Messenger of God GIP said : (4/a) The conductor of prayer is meant to be followed in his conduct. Therefore do not differ from him. When he should say 'God is great', say you it too; and when he should bow, bow you also; and when he should say 'God has heard him who has praised Him', you respond by saying 'O God, our Lord, Thee the praise'. And when he prostrates, you prostrate too, and when he should pray sitting, all of you should sit too and pray.

44. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Array yourselves in lines in prayer, for arraying in lines is the beauty of the service of prayer.

45. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Adam and Moses (once) debated together. Moses said : 'Art thou that Adam who misled men and drove them from Paradise to earth ?' Upon this Adam told him : 'Art thou that Moses on whom God has bestowed the knowledge of everything, and chose him as carrier of His messages ?' He replied : 'Yes.' Adam continued : 'Dost thou blame me for a matter that had been written down before my creation, that I should behave so ?' Thus did Adam out-debate Moses.

1. Here begins the first missing leaf in Berlin MS.

2. i.e., importance of swearing by God. This edifying episode is not cited in the Gospels.

46. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Once when Job was bathing naked, a swarm of golden locust began to fall on him, and Job began collecting them in his clothes. He added : Then his Lord called out to him : 'O Job, have I not made thee beyond the need of that which thou seest ?' He answered : 'Of course O Lord, but I am never beyond the need of plenitude of Thy blessings.'

47. And the Messenger of God GIP said : It was made easy for David to recite the Holy Recital (*qur'an*<sup>1</sup>). He used to order his horses to be harnessed, and before the harness was put on his horse, he could recite the Holy Recital. And he did not eat anything but what was earned by his own hands.<sup>2</sup>

48. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The dream of a pious man is one forty-sixth part of prophethood.

49. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The younger shall greet the older; the passer-by, the sitter; and the smaller group, the larger.

50. And the Messenger of God GIP said : I shall never cease to combat people until they should say : 'There is no God if not God Himself.' As soon as they acknowledge that 'there is no God if not God Himself', their blood, their property and their lives shall be made secure from me (i.e., my attack), excepting their dues. And these (men) are to be accounted by God.

51. And the Messenger of God GIP said : (Once) Paradise and Hell began arguing with each other. Hell said : 'Preference has been accorded to me as the abode

1. The term "Qur'an", taken in its literal sense, means here the Psalter (*Zabur*), and not the Muslim Qur'an.

2. He did not appropriate revenues of the State.

of the proud and the tyrant.' And Paradise said : 'How is it that none shall enter me save those who are the weak and the humble and the simple ?' Upon this God said to Paradise : 'Thou art My blessing : I shall through thee show mercy to whomsoever of My slaves that I like.' And to Hell He said : 'Thou art My punishment : through thee I shall punish whomsoever of My slaves I desire to punish. Each of you will become filled up.' But Hell will not find itself filled up until the time when God should put His Foot in it.<sup>1</sup> Then will Hell cry out : 'Enough, enough.' It will then find itself full, and one end of it will be joined to the other. And God does not treat any of His creatures oppressively. (4/b) As for Paradise, God — powerful and majestic is He — shall bear for it other creatures.

52. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When any of you uses lumps of earth for cleansing after natural needs, take (them) in odd number.

53. And the Messenger of God GIP said : God saith : When a slave of Mine shall say in his heart that he will do a good action, I write in his favour a single good, so long as he doth not do it in fact; and when he doeth it, I write it tenfold for him. But when he shall speak of doing an evil action, I keep him absolved so long as he really doth not do that; and when he doeth that, I write it against him as one evil only.

54. And the Messenger of God GIP said : By God ! There is a man amongst you, the lash of the whip which he will obtain in Paradise shall be better than all that is existing between the sky and the earth.

55. And the Messenger [of God GIP said : If for anyone of you an ordinary abode should be prepared in

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1. Metaphor of every day life, when one uses his legs to trample on a sack, etc., when only the hands do not completely fill it.



Paradise, he will be told : 'Wish', and he will wish and wish after wish. Upon this it will be asked him : 'Hast thou wished everything ?<sup>1</sup> ] He will say : 'I have'. Then (God) will tell him : 'Thou shalt have all that thou hast wished and even as much again'.

56. And the Messenger of God GIP said : If there had not been the incident of migration (for me), I would have been even one of the Ansar.<sup>2</sup> If some people should have gone into one ravine or one valley and the Ansar into another ravine, I would have accompanied the Ansar into their ravine.

57. And the Messenger of God GIP said : If the Israelites<sup>3</sup> had not been, food would not become putrid and the meat become rotten. If Eve<sup>4</sup> had not been, no woman would ever have deceived her husband.

58. And the Messenger of God GIP said : God created Adam in His image.<sup>5</sup> The length of his stature

1. Here ends first missing leaf of the Berlin MS.

2. i.e., Muslim of Medīnah origin.

3. For storing up food, cf. Qur'an, III, 49.

4. According to the Bible (Genesis 3/6) Eve was tempted by the serpent to eat the forbidden tree, and it is she who offered it to Adam, but according to the Qur'an (2/35, 7/19-21), it is Satan who tempted them both, and there is no particular part played by Eve in it. So the allusion of this Hadith should concern some fact — unknown to me — other than the eating of the forbidden tree.

5. Also in the Bible, cf. Genesis, I, 27. Apparently it means that if God has the attributes of hearing, seeing, speaking, willing, knowing, creating, etc., man too has the reflection of these, in the same proportion no doubt as the sun and its reflection in water, yet in a more pre-eminent degree than what is found among other created beings.



was 60 cubits. When He created him, He said to him : 'Go and greet those individuals' — it was a group of angels sitting — and listen to whatever reply they shall give (to thy greetings) — another version : *they shall greet thee* — for that shall be thy greeting and that of thy children.' He then went on and said : '*as-Salam 'alaikum*' (peace be on you) ! They replied : '[Peace be] on thee also, and God's mercy', having added — another version : *added to it* — the words 'and God's mercy'. The (Prophet) also said : Every person that shall enter Paradise will be of the shape of Adam, with a stature of 60 cubits. Thereafter creatures have gone on diminishing (in height).<sup>1</sup>

59. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The angel of death went to Moses and said to him : 'Respond to thy Lord'. The (Prophet) added : "Thereupon Moses struck on the eye of the angel of death and shattered it." He continued : "The angel then returned to God — powerful and majestic is He — and said : 'Thou hast sent me to a slave of Thine, who doth not want to die, and hath shattered my eye'." He added : (5/a) Thereupon God gave him back his eye, and said : "Go to My slave and ask : 'Is it life that thou desirest ? If thou desirest to live, put thy hand upon the back of a bull. Whatever number or hair shall be covered by thy hand, so many years shalt thou live'." Moses asked : 'What will happen thereafter ?' He said : 'Thou shalt then die.' He said : 'If so, the earlier the better', and added : 'My Lord, make me nearer to the Holy Land even by the distance of a stone-throw'.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Many modern Western biologists have also opined likewise. In his *Das Erwachen der Menschheit* (p. 14), Herbert Kuhn says : "Even the grand Carl von Linne was of the opinion that Adam and Eve were giants, and it is due to poverty and lack of means of livelihood that was responsible for the diminishing of the stature from generation to generation."

2. Leaving Egypt, he was on his way to Palestine to settle there.

And the Messenger of God said : If I had been there, I would have shown you his grave by the edge of the road near the scarlet ridge.

60. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The Israelites used to bathe naked and see one another's private parts, whereas Moses used to bathe alone. The Israelites said : 'By God ! there is nothing to prevent Moses from bathing with us, but that he should be suffering from inflammation of testicles.' He added : Moses once went to bathe, and he put his clothes upon a stone. The stone ran away with his clothes. He continued : Then Moses ran after the stone, saying out : 'My cloth, O stone, my cloth O stone !' Then the Israelites saw his private parts, and said : 'By God, there is nothing the matter with Moses.' He added : When his private parts had been observed, the stone stopped. He then took his cloth, and began beating the stone. — Thereafter Abu Hurairah said : By God, there are on the stone six or seven marks left by the beating of Moses.

61. And the Messenger of God GIP said : To be beyond need is not by the abundance of possessions. To be beyond need is when one's self needs nothing.

62. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The delay and postponement of the promise of payment by a rich man is also a kind of oppression. And if any of you should have concern with a well-to-do man, he should pursue him.

63. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The person who rouses God's anger the most on the day of resurrection, the most evil and the victim of His greatest anger will be the one who is styled the king of kings. There is no king save God, powerful and majestic is He !

64. And the Messenger of God GIP said : (Once) there was a man strutting forth (wrapped) in two shawls. He was proud of his self. He then got swallowed by the

earth,<sup>1</sup> and he will continue to writhe therein until the day of resurrection.

65. And the Messenger of God GIP said : God — powerful and majestic is He — hath said : 'I am according to what My slave (creature) supposeth of Me'.

66. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Whoever is born is born of this natural religion (of Islam), and then it is his parents who make him Jew or Christian. As when you raise young ones of animals, do you find their noses or ears cut, unless you cut them yourselves ? (So too the belief in mutilated religions). They said : 'O Messenger of God, (5/b) what is thy opinion of those [of the unbelievers] who die in child-hood ?' He said : 'God knoweth best how they would have acted (later on).'

67. And the Messenger of God GIP said : There is a bone in man which the earth never consumes. It is from that, that he would be compounded on the day of resurrection. They asked : 'What bone ?' He said : '*ajam*, at the lower end of the vertebral column.' — The narrator Abu'l-Hasan [i.e. as-Sulami] clarified : The term is '*ajab*', but according to the tradition, the Prophet said '*ajam*'.

68. And the Messenger of God GIP said : 'Do not observe uninterrupted double fast, do not observe uninterrupted double fast !' They said : 'But O Messenger of God, thou observest thyself the uninterrupted double fast.' He said : 'In this matter, I am not like you. When I spend the night, my Lord feedeth me and slaketh my thirst. Therefore exert to the extent of your powers'.

69. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When any of you should wake up after sleep, he should not dip his hand in the water-pot without first washing the hand.

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1. Probably Korah (Qarun), cf Qur'an, XXVIII, 76-81, etc.

For one doth not know where one's hand remained during sleep.

70. And the Messenger of God GIP said : It is incumbent on even the smallest bone of man to do every day an act of charity, as long as the sun should continue to rise. (As this appeared too difficult to the people — cf Ibn Hanbal N° 8168 — the Prophet continued :) Dispensing justice between two persons is also charity, helping a man with regard to his animal and helping him mounting it or putting his baggages on it is also charity; speaking a nice word is charity; every step taken towards the (place of) prayer is charity, and removing obstacles from the pathway is charity.

71. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When the owner of animals doth not pay the right of animals (zakat-tax and moderation in loading them) the same animals would be imposed on him (as punishment) on the day of resurrection, and they will be continuously kicking him on his face with their legs.

72. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The treasure of one of you will turn into a dragon turned bald on account of the excess of poison on the day of resurrection. The owner will endeavour to flee from it, but it will pursue him and cry : I am thy treasure. The (Prophet) added : By God ! it will not stop pursuing until it should seize him by his hand and make a morsel of it.<sup>1</sup>

73. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Do not urinate in water that is stagnant and doth not flow, to use the same later for bathing.

74. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The vagrant that goeth to people and obtaineth a morsel or

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1. It is not clear whether, after the hand, the rest of this man would also be swallowed by the dragon. The sin of the hand was not to pay the zakat.

two morsels, and a date or two dates is not the needy. He is needy who hath no goods to provide his requirements and still feeleth ashamed to ask of persons, and people cannot guess of his condition in order to give him charity.

75. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When a woman's husband should be at home, she should not fast (of supererogation) without his permission, (6/a) and should not permit anybody to enter his house without his permission; and whatever charity she should give, from out of his income without his authorization, half of the reward will go to him.<sup>1</sup>

76. And the Messenger of God GIP said : No one of you should desire death, nor pray for it before it cometh. For when one of you dieth, his work — another version : *his term* — cometh to an end; and verily the length of the age of a Believer doth not increase for him except good.

77. And the Messenger of God GIP said : None of you should call the grape, *karm*, for *karm* is the Muslim man.<sup>2</sup>

78. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Once somebody purchased a piece of land from another. The purchaser of the land discovered in this land a jar full of gold. So the purchaser of the land told the other : Take back from me thy gold, for I purchased from thee the land, and did not purchase the gold. Thereupon the vendor of the land said : As for me, I sold to thee the land and all

1. That is the reward of the very act of charity, not to speak of that of the thing given in charity, which was not hers.

2. The words '*inab* and *karm* synonymously mean "grape", but by its root, *karm* meant nobility, generosity; hence apparently the Holy Prophet thought it abusive to employ this important term to mere grape.

that was therein. So both of them went to a person for arbitration. Their arbitrator asked them : Have you children ? One of them said : 'I have a boy', and the other said : 'I have a daughter'. Thereupon the arbitrator said : 'Marry the son to the daughter, and spend of this gold on you,<sup>1</sup> and pay the zakat-tax.'

79. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Is any of you delighted when he findeth back his riding camel after its having been lost ? They said : Of course, O Messenger of God ! He said : By Him in Whose hand is the soul of Muhammad ! verily God is more delighted of the repentance of His slave when he repenteth than any of you when he findeth back his riding camel !

80. And the Messenger of God GIP said : God saith — powerful and majestic is He ! — : When My slave advanceth a span to meet Me, I advance towards him by a cubit; and when he advanceth by a cubit to meet Me, I advance towards him by a fathom; and when he advanceth by a fathom, to meet Me, I go to him — another version : *I advance towards him* — still quicker.

81. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When one of you takes his ablutions, let him inhale water in the nostrils and then eject it.

82. And the Messenger of God GIP said : By Him in Whose hand is the soul of Muhammad I had I as much gold as Mount Uhud, I would have liked that three nights should not pass before a single piece of *dinar* (gold coin) should be left with me, finding somebody who would accept it from me : no quantity of it I would keep back lying as a debt on me (before God).<sup>2</sup>

1. Instead of "on you", by al-Bukhari and Ibn Hanbal it is "on both of them".

2. In the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari 81/14/2, a report of the same narrator Abu Hurairah, instead of "lying as a debt on me (before God)", reads : "lying with me except that which I keep for paying a debt (burdening me)".



83. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When the cook bringeth you your meal, — another version : *the meal* — the same who hath spared you its heat and its smoke, invite him to eat with you. If not, give it — another version : *place a morsel* — in his hand.

84. (6/b) And the Messenger of God GIP said : None of you should say : 'Give drink to thy lord', or 'give food to thy lord', or 'pour water for ablutions for thy lord'. And none of you should say 'my lord', but say 'my chief', 'my patron'. And none of you should say 'my slave', 'my slave-girl', but say 'my boy', 'my girl', 'my youngling'.

85. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The first group to enter Paradise would have faces like that of the full moon in the night : they will not spit there, nor blow the nose, nor require to go to the closet. Their utensils and their combs would be of gold and silver. Their censers would be of aloe, and the musk would percolate on them. Each one of them would have two wives, so fine that the marrow of their tibias would be transparent from inside the flesh. These people would not quarrel with each other, nor their hearts would hate each other as if there were only one heart. They will chant purity of God, morning and evening.

86. And the Messenger of God GIP said : O God, I have made a pact with Thee, and Thou shalt never violate it. After all I am a human being. <sup>1</sup>[So whomsoever of the Believers I might torture, or abuse, or whip, or curse, so make that for him a service of prayer, a payment of zakat-tax, <sup>2</sup> means enabling him Thy proximity on the day of resurrection.

87. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Booties were not lawful to those before us.<sup>2</sup> God saw our

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1. Here begins the second missing leaf of the Berlin MS.

2. For Biblical references and other details see infra N° 122 and notes.

weakness and our incapacity; so He hath rendered it valid for us.

88. And the Messenger of God GIP said : A woman entered Hell on account of a cat of hers, or : on account of a cat which she had bound with a rope; then neither did she feed it, nor leave it away to catch the small creepers on the earth, until it died of inanition.

89. And the Messenger of God GIP said : No thief can steal, while he stealeth, to be a Believer. No fornicator can fornicate, while he fornicateth, to be a Believer. No drinker from among you of the forbidden drink — that is the wine — can drink, while he drinketh, to be a Believer. By Him in Whose hand is the soul of Muhammad ! no person of high rank from among you can plunder (what is thrown over the bride-groom) in a way that he attracts the attention of Believers, while he plundereth, to be a Believer. Nobody from among you can commit fraud, while he committeth fraud, to be a Believer. Take care, take care !

90. And the Messenger of God GIP said : By Him in Whose hand is the soul of Muhammad ! nobody heareth of me, from among these (Arab) people, or the Jews, or the Christians and dieth without having believed in the message which hath been sent through me, but would be among the companions of Hell.

91. And the Messenger of God GIP said : During the service of prayer, the uttering of the formula "purity belongs to God" (*subhan allah*), is by men, and clapping of hands by women (through which the conductor of the service of prayer may be warned of his error).

92. (7/a) And the Messenger of God GIP said : Every wound with which a Muslim is wounded in the path of God will be on the day of resurrection as it was at the moment of the attack : it will be oozing blood, with the colour as the colour of blood yet the smell like the smell of musk.



93. <sup>1</sup> And the Messenger of God GIP said : You will not cease putting question after question, until one of you would even say : 'It is God Who hath created the creation, but who hath created God ?'

94. <sup>2</sup> And the Messenger of God GIP said : I went to my house and found a date fruit fallen on my bed, — or : in my house, — I raised it to eat, then I feared it might be from the zakat-tax (or: charity not meant for me), so I put it back.

95. And the Messenger of God GIP said : To persist in an oath sworn against the wife is a greater sin in the sight of God than the breaking of such an oath and making the prescribed expiation.<sup>3</sup>

96. And the Messenger of God GIP said : If the parties are obliged to affirm on oath, or if both are eager to swear, then there will be drawing of lots (to decide who to swear).<sup>4</sup>

1, 2. By Ibn Hanbal, the report N° 93 is 94, and 94 is 93.

3. To violate the oath is a sin even if it is effaced by ritual expiation, but the reconciliation with the family is always preferable in the sight of Islam.

4. This Hadith is diversely reported at least in so far as the manuscript or printed copies are concerned. The Damascus MS has *فامتنعوا* (: "they both like them both"), where the pronoun "them both" remains inexplicable. In Berlin MS a leaf is lacking along with the present Hadith. The old edition of Ibn Hanbal had *فامتنعوا* (: "they both feel shy of it") which we preferred in the last edition. The new edition of Ibn Hanbal has *فامتنعوا* (: "they both like it"), and Shakir adds in a note that

(Continued on next page)

97. And the Messenger of God GIP said : If any of you purchaseth ■ she-camel or ■ goat, which hath fraudulently not been milked normally (to give the impression that it giveth more milk than it really doth), he hath the choice after milking himself : either to be content with what it is, or return it along with a measure of dates (for the value of the milk extracted).

98. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Even the old man remaineth young with regard to two desires : length of life, and abundance of goods.

99. And the Messenger of God GIP said : None of you should point with a naked weapon at one's brother, since one doth not know perhaps the Devil may let it lose from one's hand and thus one would fall in the pit of Hell.

100. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The anger of God hath been great with the people who have done this to the Messenger of God (GIP. And he pointed to his front teeth).<sup>1</sup> And said : The anger of God is great at a person who is to be killed at the hand of the Messenger of God in the path of God.<sup>2</sup>

(Continued from the previous page)

according to some old sources the real reading is أو استجابا ( : "or they both like it"). This seems to be the best transmission of the Hadith, i.e. either when both the parties are obliged to the detestable duty of swearing, or both are so unscrupulous that they are eager to swear and rush to it, in both these eventualities, the judge will decide by drawing the lot to select the one who should swear to affirm his claim.

1. Broken in the battle of Uhud of the year 3 H./625.

2. Apparently Ubaiy ibn Khalaf is meant, who was among the persecutors of Muslims and had been wounded in the same battle of Uhud, at the hand of the Prophet, to die of this wound.

101. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Everyman hath a portion of fornication which he acquireth unavoidably. He then explained : So the eye, whose fornication is through (lustful) looking, and the concrete realization through *a 'rad* (meeting ?);<sup>1</sup> so the tongue, whose fornication is through (obscene) talk; so the heart, whose fornication is through (lascivious) desire, though it is the sexual organ which doth or doth not realize the sin.<sup>2</sup>

102. And the Messenger of God GIP said : If any of you beautifieth his Islam, then every (7/b) good action

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1. This Hadith as it is has been cited neither by al-Bukhari nor by Muslim, but they both report it on another chain, Ibn 'Abbas quoting Abu Hurairah, and there the sense is clearer than here. So in al-Bukhari 79/12, we read : "God has predestined for the children of Adam part of fornication which they shall surely attain: the fornication of the eye is to regard, the fornication of tongue is to talk, the soul desires and longs, and the sexual organ confirms or contradicts all this". Muslim, Abu Dawud, and at-Tirmidhi also report this version. The text of our *Sahifah* makes difficulty, which runs : "concrete realization through *i'rad* (Shakir, in Ibn Hanbal, insists that it is to read "*a 'rad*"). Neither of these readings makes much sense. For *i'rad* means "to turn away from", which naturally is not the realization of the fornication. The reading "*a 'rad*" normally means "goods", "accidents", "reputation" etc. Perhaps the "goods" is an euphemism for the "gift" given to the prostitute as a reward of her consentment to the illicit intercourse. Or perhaps there is a mistake of copying, and a whole line is skipped over, and means something like : "concrete realization when one deliberately concentrates on the object after a casual and involuntary gaze instead of turning away from it."

2. In the version of Ibn Hanbal there is a Hadith between 102 and 103 which in our text will come later under N° 137.

that he doeth is denoted as ten to seven hundred times as valuable; but every evil action that he doeth is denoted for one time its value only, and this until (he dieth) to meet God, powerful and majestic is He !<sup>1</sup>

103. And the Messenger of God GIP said : If one of you is the conductor of a congregational prayer, let him lighten (i.e., shorten) the service, since there may be elderly people, weaklings, and sick. But if one prayeth alone, then one may lengthen one's service as much as one liketh.

104. And the Messenger of God GIP said : (Once) the angels said : O Lord I such and such slave (of Thine) intendeth to do evil. And He, Who seeth better than they, replied : Watch him; if he doth that, then write it as it is; whereas if he shun it, then write this (shunning) as a good action, since he hath shunned it for My sake.<sup>2</sup>

105. And the Messenger of God GIP said : God, Who is mighty and majestic, saith : My slave accuseth Me of falsehood, whereas that is unbecoming of him, and he abuseth Me,<sup>3</sup> ] whereas that is unbecoming of him. As for his accusing Me of falsehood, that refereth to his saying : 'He shall never repeat us (in creation) as He began us first';<sup>4</sup> and as to his abusing Me, that refereth to his saying : 'God hath adopted a child',<sup>5</sup> whereas I am the Absolute, neither I beget, nor am I begotten, and there is none of equal rank unto Me !<sup>6</sup>

1. cf also supra N° 53.

2. cf supra N° 53.

3. End of the second missing leaf of Berlin MS.

4. cf Quran 17/49-51, etc.

5. cf Quran 2/116, etc.

6. cf Quran 112/2-4.

106. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Let the heat (of mid-summer day) cool down for the prayer, since the intensity of the heat is of the gusts from Gehenna.

107. And the Messenger of God GIP said : If any of you breaketh wind, his prayer is not accepted until he maketh (new) ablutions.

108. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When the announcement is made of the beginning of the service of prayer, walk to join it marching in a dignified manner,<sup>1</sup> and whatever portion you find, celebrate it (with the conductor of the congregational service), and whatever escapeth you, complete it (at the end).

109 And the Messenger of God GIP said : God smileth at two persons, one of them having killed the other and yet both entering the Paradise. They asked : 'How is that, O Messenger of God ?' He said : This one is killed, so (as a martyr) he entereth Paradise; thereafter God accepteth the repentance of that one, and guideth him to Islam, and so he taketh part in the struggle in the path of God and falleth martyr.

110. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Do not offer (your merchandise) for sale against a brother of yours in sale when he is selling (to a client), and do not ask the hand of a girl when a brother of yours is asking her hand.

111. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The Unbeliever eateth with seven abdomens, whereas the Believer eateth with only one abdomen.<sup>2</sup>

1. No need of hurry and haste.

2. A Muslim is well-behaved and so he is careful that others too get what to eat, and does not appropriate everything to himself.

112. And the Messenger of God GIP said : (8/a) Khadir<sup>1</sup> was called with this name (i.e., the Green) because (once) he sat on white sand, and at once it became resplendently green underneath him.

113. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Verily God would not look on the day of Resurrection at one who letteth descend, that is, his loin-cloth, (below the ankles).

114. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The Israelites were commanded the following : "...enter the gate prostrate, and say : 'remission', so that We forgive you your faults",<sup>2</sup> but they changed (the word). In fact they entered the gate crawling on their buttocks, and said : 'a grain of wheat in barley'.<sup>3</sup>

115. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When one of you standeth up during the night for (supererogatory) prayer, and the reciting of the Qur'an getteth confounded by his tongue so that he knoweth no more what he saith, then let him lie in bed.

1. According to Muslim traditions, Khadir is an invisible man — one finds him already initiating Moses in the mysteries of God, cf Qur'an 18/65-85 — and he comes to the succour of persons who are in distress and are lost, if God wills.

2. Qur'an, II, 58.

3. In the version of al-Bukhari (for references see above § 93, under Hadith N° 114) : "a grain in the thread". Apparently it refers to the episode mentioned in the Qur'an (V, 21-25), that Moses wanted the Israelites to fight the Palestinians and occupy their land, but they got afraid, and demanded wheat and onion (cf. Qur'an, II, 61), and said : "go thou and thy Lord and fight ye two while we sit here" (Quran 5/24).

116. And the Messenger of God GIP said : God, Who is exalted, saith : No man should say : 'damn the passing time', for I am the passing time : I let go the night and the day; and when I would like, I would hold them back.

117. And the Messenger of God GIP said : What a bliss to a slave if God sendeth him death, during full obedience to his Lord and obedience to his master. What a bliss to him, what a bliss to him !

118. And the Messenger of God GIP said : When one of you standeth up for prayer (in a desert), let him not spit in front of him — since he is holding a tete-a-tete with God so long as he is in his place of prayer, — nor on his right hand — since on his right hand is an angel, — but he may spit on his left hand or below his leg (foot) and bury it.<sup>1</sup>

119. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Even to tell people, who are talking : 'silence', is stupid talk on your part, — that is, during the Friday (sermon).<sup>2</sup>

120. And the Messenger of God GIP said : I have a priority over other people among the Believers, (8/b) according to the Book of God.<sup>3</sup> So whoever of you leaveth a debt, or dieth lost (without means even of burial), — another possible sense : family utterly lost (for lack of means of subsistence) — do call upon me, for I am his

1. Or, as another report of al-Bukhari (8/33/1, 8/39) says, one may gather during the prayer the mucus in a handkerchief or wipe out therewith the nose.

2. One must silently listen to the sermon.

3. Cf. Qur'an, XXXIII, 6 : "the Prophet is to be given preference by the Believers to their own selves", a Prophet who is so attentive and solicitous of their interests and is so disinterested.



patron. But whoever of you leaveth property, let his close relatives have priority over his property, whoever they be.

121. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Let no one of you say : 'O God, absolve me if Thou likest', 'be merciful to me if Thou likest', or 'give me means of subsistence if Thou likest'. Let him request resolutely. Of course He doth what He liketh, with none to constrain Him.

122. And the Messenger of God GIP said : One of the prophets<sup>1</sup> led an expedition, and said to the people (army) : 'No person shall accompany me, who hath obtained a woman in marriage and intendeth to consummate the marriage having not done that yet, nor one who is constructing a house, and the roof is not yet laid, nor one who hath purchased sheep and she-camels and it is time for their child-bearing.' Then he went on for the attack. When he came near the city, it was the time to celebrate the late-afternoon prayer, or thereabouts. So he said to the sun : 'Thou art under orders, and I am also under orders (of God). — O God, hold it back for me awhile'.<sup>2</sup> So it was held back, until God accorded him victory. So they assembled all the booty they had captured. A fire came to devour it, yet refused to touch it. The (prophet Joshua) exclaimed : 'Surely there is fraud among you. Let a person from each tribe offer fealty'. They did so, and in fact the hand of one of them remained stuck to the hand of the prophet. Whereupon this latter exclaimed : 'Among you is the fraud. Let all his tribe offer me fealty'. It did so, and the hands of two or three members of the tribe remained stuck (to the hand of the prophet). Thereupon he uttered : 'Among you is the fraud. You have committed fraud'. The Messenger of God (Muhammad) continued : Then they brought before

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1. Joshua son of Nun.

2. Cf. Old Testament, Joshua, X, 12-13.



him a sort of cow's head in gold, and placed it in the general booty, which was heaped in a plain. The fire came and devoured (all).<sup>1</sup> The Messenger of God added : Booties were not lawful to anybody before us.<sup>2</sup> But (9/a) God saw our weakness and our incapacity, so He hath rendered it valid for us.<sup>3</sup>

123. And the Messenger of God GIP said : While I was sleeping, I saw as if I was pulling out water (from the well) to pour in a cistern, and gave people ('s camels) drink. Thereupon Abu Bakr came and took the bucket from my hand to allow ~~me~~ to rest. He pulled water twice in the bucket, and there was weakness in his pulling. God absolve him.<sup>4</sup> He continued : Then came 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and took it from his hands; — and nobody had pulled out water like him — and (he continued to do so) until all the people returned satisfied, and the cistern was overflowing.

124. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The Hour of the end of the world shall not come until you fight the Khuzistanians and Kirmanians, people from among the Iranians, red-faced, snub-nosed, small-eyed, their faces looking as if they are shields which are hammered.<sup>5</sup>

1. *ibid.* VII, 16-26. According to the version of the Bible now in vogue, even the culprit was burnt to death.

2. In addition to the preceding reference, see Genesis, XV, 17 and Leviticus, I, 7ff., according to which both in the time of Abraham and Moses things offered to God were burnt out (and not given to the poor, as in Islam).

3. *cf. supra* No. 87 also.

4. In the MS of Egypt and by Ibn Hanbal, this demand of pardon comes later concerning 'Umar.

5. By Ibn Hanbal the Hadith 124 is 125, and 125 is 124.

125. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Conceit and pride are found among the owners of horses and camels, whereas quietness among the owners of sheep.

126. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The Hour of the end of the world shall not come up until you fight a people whose sandals are made of hair.<sup>1</sup>

127. And the Messenger of God GIP said : All the peoples would follow the Quraishites (of Mecca) in this matter, — I think<sup>2</sup> the Messenger of God intended thereby the commandership and chieftainship — the Muslims among these peoples would follow a Muslim from among the Quraishites, and the Unbelievers among these peoples would follow an Unbeliever from among the Quraishites.

128. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The best women that ride the camel are the Quraishite women : they are most solicitous concerning the child in its tender age, and most careful regarding the property of the husband.

129. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The (effect of evil) eye is a reality. And he (i.e. the Prophet) forbade tattooing.

130. And the Messenger of God GIP said : One of you never ceases to be in prayer so long as he is detained for the prayer : nothing hindereth him from going out if it is not his waiting for the (next congregational) prayer.

131. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The upper hand (that giveth charity) is better than the lower one (which receiveth). And begin (charity) with the one who dependeth upon thee.

1. See the preceding note.

2. This gloss exists neither in the narration of al-Bukhari nor of Muslim; it emanates probably from as-Sulami.

132. And the Messenger of God GIP said : I have priority over all the other people, in relation to Jesus son of Mary, (9/b) Here as well as in the Hereafter. They asked : 'How so ? O Messenger of God'. He replied : The prophets are but consanguine brothers : their father is the same, only their mothers are different;<sup>1</sup> and their religion is the same; moreover between us two (myself and Jesus) there is no intervening prophet.

133. And the Messenger of God GIP said : While I was asleep, I saw as if the treasures of the earth were all given to me, and two gold bracelets were put on my hands. This looked an enormity to me, and afflicted me. Thereupon I received the Revelation to blow on them. So I blew, and they vanished. I interpret these bracelets to be the two imposters which I have around me : the master of San'a, and the master of Yamamah.<sup>2</sup>

134. And the Messenger of God GIP said : None of you can get salvation on account of his actions alone; but follow the straight path and seek to approach (God). They said : 'Not even thou, O Messenger of God ?' He replied : 'Not even I except if God wraps me on His part with mercy and grace'.

135. And Abu Hurairah said : And the Messenger of God forbade two kinds of sales and two kinds of dress. (As to this last, he forbade) that any of you should suspend a single piece of cloth over the shoulders, no part of it covering his privy parts. Similarly one should not wrap oneself with a shoulder cloth when one celebrateth the prayer, except by crossing its two ends on opposite

1. Apparently he means that, Jesus having no father, there is only the difference of mothers.

2. Aswad al-'Ansi Dhu'l-Himar had pretended to be prophet, and had captured San'a in Yemen (to the South of Medinah); and Musailimah at Yamamah, Najd (East of Medinah).

shoulders.<sup>1</sup> (As to the forbidden sales), the Messenger of God GIP forbade the touch-and-throw method,<sup>2</sup> and

1. The text has the word *izar*, a loin-cloth, which seems to imply here a piece of cloth of such dimensions that if one envelops it around the belly only, it descends down to ankels, a thing which is prohibited to a Believer (cf supra N° 113) so it is advised to raise the loin-cloth as high as the shoulders and to cross its two ends and tie them on the back of the neck.

2. Our MS uses two words, *mass* (touching) and *ilqa* (throwing); Ibn Hanbal employs only one word, *lams* (touching), and thence the *mulamasah*, a kind of sale, where one touches the merchandise without seeing it. Narrators other than Abu Hurairah cited for this same Hadith by al-Bukhari (34/62-63) use, instead of *ilqa*, a synonym, *nibadh* (whence) *munabadhah*, kind of sale, and al-Bukhari explains it by saying that therein the vendor throws the merchandise to the buyer, as if the latter had definitely purchased it without having seen or even touched it. In his book *Kitab al-Muhabbar*, (p. 263-268), Ibn Habib has a whole chapter on "Fairs in Ancient Arabia", and speaking of the Fairs in al-Mushaqqar and in Shihr-Maharah he says (p. 265, 266): "And at al-Mushaqqar the method of transactions was by *mulamasah* (touching one another) and *hamhamah* (humming, making a pectoral noise). As to Touching, that was indicating by a gesture: the parties contented to point each other by the finger for the transaction of purchase-sale, and no one said a word until the parties had come to an accord by means of gestures alone. As to humming, it was for not swearing on a falsehood, if the buyer pretended later that he was cheated... As to the fair of Shir-Mahrah... transactions there were made by throwing a pebble (*ilqa al-hijarah*)". (For the French translation of the whole chapter of Ibn Habib, see *Le Prophete de l'Islam*, by Hamidullah, § 1593). These different pre-Islamic methods caused numerous difficulties to the parties, whence their prohibition.

cheating by clandestine agents<sup>1</sup>.

136. And the Messenger of God GIP said : The damage caused by the dumb (i.e., non-human) animals goeth with impunity, that by a well<sup>2</sup> goeth with impunity, that by a mine (for extracting minerals) goeth with impunity. In treasure-trove, the fifth is to be paid as tax.

137. And the Messenger of God GIP said : Which-ever city you come to, and settle is according to your destiny, — and I think he said : “it is yours”, or a similar word; — but whichever city disobeyeth God and His messenger, its fifth (of booty) will go to God and to His messenger and later that too reverteth to you.<sup>3</sup>

1. The agents of the merchant feigned purchasing goods on high price, to persuade the strangers that that was the real price. Cf also N° *supra*.

2. In pre-Islamic days, if someone was killed by an animal, or by falling in the well or the mine belonging to somebody created responsibilities on those who were innocent to the cause of the damage. Killing the “criminal” animal and other such measures were abolished by this pronouncement of the Holy Prophet.

3. The context is not known, and the old commentators are also embarrassed. Apparently the first part concerns a population which, after some resistance, embraces Islam, and the Holy Prophet concedes them the right to select once for all a locality for the residence of the tribe, saying : If later on you find it good or evil, it would be your fate, and you might no more change the place. The second part of the Hadith promulgates a rule of Public International Law, concerning conquest and distribution of booty among members of the expedition and their government.

It may be noted here, that in the MS of Damascus, on the margin of the page, facing last words of the Hadith, there is the precision “collation completed”. Normally this comes from careful and scrupulous copyists.

## The Colophons

§ 140. The young science of the history of texts has demonstrated that colophons and other notes on MSS contains often precious and unexpected informations which one searches sometimes in vain elsewhere. Apart from the works in which the *Sahifah* of Hammam is incorporated as a chapter, we dispose now of three MSS where the work exists independently, and we give below their colophons :

### a) MS of Berlin

"End of the *Sahifah*. And praise be to God, Lord of the worlds. May God incline to our chief Muhammad and to his relatives and to his companions, and may He preserve (them). Finished writing it the one who is in need (of God's mercy) Ibrahim ibn Sulaiman ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Hanafi al-Jinini as by origin, but ad-Dimashqi by domicile, and this on the morning of Monday 17th Rabi' al-Auwal in the year one thousand one hundred (of Hijrah). He prepared this copy for himself as well as for those after him whom God may will, out of the copy in the writing of the very learned Isma'il ibn Ibrahim ibn Juma'ah, the date of (his) writing being Friday 16th Rabi' al-Auwal eight hundred fifty six (of Hijrah). May God, Who is exalted, be merciful unto him with ■ vast mercy. Amen !"

### b) MS of Cairo

(The dots " ... " indicate that the words are illegible owing to the damaged condition of the MS.): "End of the *Sahifah* of Hammam ibn Munabbih, and praise be to God... 'Abdullah b. 'Isa b. 'Ubaidullah b. 'Isa al-Muradi al-Andalusi (says :) Have heard along with me all... from the Shaikh, the Imam, the Ascetic, the Hafiz, the Lamp of the Religion, the Sun of Islam, (the Riviver of the) *Sunnah* Abu Bakr Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Yasir al-Ansari al-Andalusi, the shaikhs as-S... the Imam Shamsud-Din Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Muhsin b. Abu'l-Madda' (?)"



aI-Ba'Ti (?), and the Shaikh, the Imam Ibn Sinwanud-Din Ridwan b. Nasir b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ishkandi, and the Shai (kh), the Imam Abu'l-Mafakhir 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Abu Bakr al-Janzi, and the Shaikh, the Imam Isma'il b. Abu'l-Karm b. al-Mubarak ar-Radani. And this during the last ten days of the month of Jumada al-Ula anno five hundred fifty seven (of Hijrah), at Mosul. And much praise be to God !"

### c) MS of Damascus

'End of the *Sahifah*. And praise be to God, Lord of the worlds, and divine inclination and preservation to Muhammad the best of His creation, as also to his pure relatives and noble companions. May he be honoured down to the Doomsday. The copyist of the brochure who is its owner the slave of God, one in need of the mercy of God as well as His pardon, namely 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hamdan ibn Barakat, who remains praising God; exalted is He !"

§ 141. Then follow the registrations of attendance and certificates of collation (see below). It is inspiring and even thrilling to remark therein (cf particularly § 152 below) names of people of such diverse ranks as princes, slaves, judges, professors, commanders, and of such varied origins as Seville (Spain), Sicily, Darband (Armenia), Balkh (Afghanistan), Maghrib (Morocco), Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, etc., as also of different schools of law : Malikites, Shafi'ites, Hanafites, among the co-hearers of the lessons of this same book. Sometimes the names are not very legible in the photos of the Damascus MS., sometimes even destroyed by book-binding. A dotted line (...) indicates this fact. For the deciphering of certain names I am thankful to Mr. Salahuddin Munajjed, (then cultural attache of Syrian embassy at Paris, who became later for several years the director of the Institute of Manuscripts of the League of Arab States). It is his brother who kindly sent me from Damascus the necessary photos.

## Certificates of Authentication in the MSS.

### MS. of Berlin.

§ 142. The Berlin MS, as already mentioned, is not an authenticated copy, but the scribe has noted such a certificate found on the MS from which he had copied his text. It has this interest that it refers to Ibn 'Asakir, who has also to do something with the Damascus MS. So we reproduce this certificate as it is (adding only the numbers) :

§ 143. "Thank God, I read all of this *Sahifah* before my grand-father Shaikh al-Islam al-Khatibi al-Jamal Abu Muhammad 'Abdullah ibn Juma'ah, may God perpetuate his grandeur. For this he was authorized by the most learned Abu Is'haq Ibrahim ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahid ash-Shafi'i, obtaining permission from al-Qasim ibn Mahmud ibn Muzaffar ibn 'Asakir as well as from Abu Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Hibat'allah ibn M-M-Y-L (Jahbal?), both mentioning their authorization saying: Informed us Abu'l-Wafa Mahmud ibn Ibrahim ibn Mindah by permission though not on the basis of personal hearing. Informed us Abu'l-Faraj Mas'ud ibn al Hasan ath-Thaqafi in similar fashion, informed us Abu 'Amr 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Mindah on the basis of the chain mentioned in the beginning of the book. So heard it (1) my chief and father al-Khatibi al-Imami the learned Abu Is'haq Ibrahim ibn al-Musmi', and (2, 3) his two brothers Sharafuddin Musa and Badruddin Muhammad, and (4, 5) the two brothers the most learned Najmuddin Muhammad and Muhibbuddin Ahmad, and the savants as under : (6) Zainuddin 'Abd al-Karim ibn Abi'l-Wafa, (7) Shamsuddin Muhammad ibn al-Jamal Yusufuddin ibn as-Safi, (8) Zainuddin 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Ahmad ibn Ghazi, (9) 'Alauddin 'Ali ibn Khalil ibn Ba-Qais, (10) Burhanuddin Ibrahim ibn al-Qadi Tajuddin 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Qadi as-Salt, (11) Ghar-suddin Khalil ibn al-Qadi Shihabuddin Ahmad ibn Qatiba', and (12) 'Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Wazzan. The reader of



the text authorized them, the correction (of the copies) was made, and this was noted on the morning of Sunday 25th Rabi' al-Auwal of the year 856 in the hand of Isma'il ibn Juma'ah, who praises God, who invokes inclination and preservation (on the part of God for the Holy Prophet), and who proclaims: "God suffices us." Below this, in bolder writing the following: "That is correct. Wrote it 'Abdullah ibn Juma'ah, may God cover him with pardon."

**b) MS of Damascus.**

§ 144. It has numerous endorsements, both on the title page and at the end of the copy. Hereunder the details:

**1. On the Title Page.**

§ 145. (a) The title reads: *Sahifah* of Hammam ibn Munabbih, may God have mercy on him, Ma'mar transmitting from him, 'Abd ar-Razzaq transmitting from him, Ahmad ibn Yusuf as-Sulami transmitting from him, Abu Bakr al-Qattan transmitting from him, the Imam Abu 'Abdullah ibn Mindah transmitting from him, his son 'Abd al-Wahhab transmitting from him, the Shaikh Abu'l-Khair Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Muqaddar transmitting from him, the Shaikh the majestic and unique Imam the Hafiz Tajuddin Baha'ul-Islam Badi' az-Zaman Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-Mas'udi transmitting from him. May God rectify this last, and agree with them all, and accord much salutation till the doomsday.

§ 146. (b) Just below it: Hearing of its owner 'Abd al-Rahim ibn Hamdan ibn Barakat. Praise be to God as also gratitude.

§ 147. (c) Below this last: Waqf (pious endowment) of Najmuddin Abu'l-Hasan ibn Hilal, may God reward him therefor, on all the Muslims with the condition that it should not be lent to anybody unless (.....? depositing) its value.

§ 148. (d) There are three other endorsements on the page not directly concerned with our book, one relating to the obituary of Ibn Hajib, the other to that of Abu Dabus al-Wathiq Bi'llah of Maghrib, and the last is: "Read it 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Khamis (or : Khunais) ibn Yahya as-Sibtî", for whom see the last certificate on the last page of the manuscript, who may be the same person (cf § 157 infra).

## 2. At the End of the Text.

§ 149. (i) On the margin of the last page (9/b) we read : Heard it from the Hafiz Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Hibatullah as well as from the Shaikh Abu 'Ali al-Husain ibn 'Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali al-Batalyusi, both of whom from Zahir, from Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Qasim as-Saffar and from Ahmad ibn Ali ibn 'Abdullah ibn Khalid (or : Khuld) and from Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad Al-Mami'i ( ? al-Ghafiqi) And the Hafiz Abu'l-Qasim added : And reported also Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad ibn Isma'il ibn al-Fudail al-Fudaili, from Abu Sahl 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-Malini, all of whom from Abu Tahir Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Kathir, from Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Husain al-Qattan with his chain of narration. Muhammad ibn Hibatullah ash Shirazi, and Abu'l-Barakat al-Hasan, and his brother Ahmad both being sons of Muhammad ibn al-Hasan, and several others, in the month of Shauwal of the year 559.

§ 150. (ii) On the lower margin of the same page we read in three lines, partly illegible : The reading in a group of Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Mas'udi was heard, on Monday 6th Rabi' al-Akhir of the year 575, by Abu Muhammad ibn Abi-Bakr ibn Ahmad al-Balkhi, and Abu'l-Faraj Nasr, and al-Muzaffar ibn Abi'l-Funun al-'Attabi, and Abu at-Tahir ( ? az-Zahir) Isma'il ibn Zafir ibn 'Abdullah al-Uqaili, and Naba' ibn Mukarim ibn Hajjaj al-Hanafi, and Abu Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Ibrahim az-Zajjaj.

§ 151. (iii) On the same page on the margin :  
 "Collation completed".

§ 152. (iv) On the following page (10/a) the entire space is occupied by the following certificate (where we have added the serial number) : Terminated the hearing of the whole of this *Sahifah*, which is the *Sahifah* of Hammam ibn Munabbih, before the Shaikh the Jurist the Imam the learned Tajuddin Baha'ul-Muslimin Bad (i' az-Zaman) Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Abi'l-Hasan al-Mas'udi al-Bandahi al-Khurasani, may God embellish the end of his affairs, by his reading before us of the original (from which he had himself heard) of which (this) is copied in the Madrasah Nasiriyah Salahiyah, may God perpetuate the kingdom of him who has made pious endowment of that (school) in the frontier town of Damiette, may God, exalted is He, accord it His protection, (hearing) by the princes and the respected jurists (1) 'Imaduddin Abu't-Tahir Isma'il ibn al-Amir Zahiruddin Abu Ishaq ibn al-Amir Nasir'ud-Daulah incharge of the war on that frontier at that time, and (2) al-Amir Jamaluddin Abu'l-Fadl Musa, and (3) the jurist the majestic the imam the learned Fakhruddin Abu-Bakr ibn Mausili ibn Mam ibn Harb al-Marani (?) . (?a) teacher of the said school in the frontier town, and (4) the most respected Qadi Abu Muhammad 'Abd as-Salam ibn Juma'ah ibn Uthman at-Tannisi, and (5) al-Mu'tamad... 'Abd al-Ghani ibn Isma'il ibn Ibrahim, and (6) his son Abu'l-Muntasir 'Abd al-'Aziz, and (7) ... (? al-Fals, al-Qals) Abu 'Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Qadi Jalal ad-Daulah Abu'l-Barakat 'Ubai(d...) ibn Ahmad, and (8) his son Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad, and (9) his brother al-Mukhtass Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-'Aziz, and (10) the jurist Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Baqi ibn Ja'far at-Tannisi, and (11) Abu...Nasir ibn Samsam ibn Siba' al-Mu'addib, and (12) Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Ma'ali ibn 'Ali ad-Dimati (? ad-Dimyati), and (13) the jurist al-Khatib Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn ... ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman ad-Dimyati, and (14) Amir al-Mulk Abu'l Barakat 'Abd ar-Rahman

Muhammad ibn Talhah ad-Dimyati, and (15) al-Afif Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad ibn al-Qadi ... Abu'l-Barakat Muhammad ibn Sulaim (? Salim), and (16) 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Isma'il ibn Zafir ad-Dimyati, and (17) 'Abdullah ibn Abu'l Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn Abu ... (? ar-Raja'), and (18) al-Qa(di) Abu 'Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Qasim ibn ... (? 'Atiq, 'Isa) at-Tannisi, and (19) 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab ad-Dimyati, and (20) Safiuddin Abu'l-Fat'h Na(sruddin) Muzaffar ibn al-Jalal ar-Rahbi, and (21) Fat'huddin 'Umar ibn Tamim ibn Ahmad at-Tamimi, and (22, 23) his two sons Muhammad and 'Abd ar-Rahman, and (24) Abu'l-Fat'h Muhammad ibn 'Abd ... ibn Ahmad, and (25) ... (? al-Khals) Abu Muhammad 'Abdullah ibn al-Qadi Diyauddin Abu'l-Qasim Hibatullah ibn Ahmad, and (26) 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd a ( ... ), and (27) Abu'l-Fadl Talhah ibn al-Qadi an-Nafis Abu'l-Ma'ali Muhammad ibn Hudhaifah ad-Dimyati, and (28) ar-Radi Abu'l-Fadl Ridwan ibn Muslim al-Misri, and (29) ... ibn 'Abdullah an-Nasir, and (30) Abu'l-Haram al-Makki ibn Abu Nasr Fat'h ibn Rafi' an-Nasri, and (31) Abu'l-Fadl Murtada ibn Abu'l-Husain Muhammad ibn 'Ali al ( ... ) at-Tannisi al-Maliki, and (32) 'Abd al-Ghani ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Sadaqah al-Halabi ad-Dimyati, and (33) Abu'l-Mansur as well as (34) Abu'l-Husain, both sons of al-Qadi ... Salih ibn Abi Kathir, and (35) Nasir ibn Salim ibn Nasir, and (36) Nasr ibn Karim ibn 'Ali, and (37) Mansur ibn 'Ali ibn Hajjaj, all of them of Damiette (Dimyat), and (38) Abu'l-Haram Makki ... ibn al-Halawi as-Sirar al-Bazzaz (?) al-Muqri', (cf. No. 30 above also), and (39) Abu 'Imran Musa ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ad-Darbandi, and (40) Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Tahir al-Mu'a(dhhdhin), and his two sons (41, 42) Muhammad and 'Abd al-Wahhab, and (43) a brother of the said Mu'adhdhin, and (44) the noble jurist Abu Mansur Fat'h ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Khalaf ash-Shafi'i ... , and his two sons (45, 46) Muhammad and 'Abdullah, and (47) Mas'ud, slave of the above-mentioned jurist and teacher. AND the writer of this certificate of reading-listening as well as owner of this tract the slave (of God) beggar (of Him) 'Abd ar-Rahim ibn Hamdan ibn

Barakat ash-Shafī'i, praising God. And this on 26th Dhu'l-Qa'dah of the year five hundred and ( ... seventy-seven?), being valid for all of them. And praise be to God alone, and His inclination and preservation for Muhammad and those who belong to him. Should be added thereto ... (?) ibn Muhammad son of the said and he ... (?).

§ 153. And separated therefrom by a line the following : It is true that all of them heard from me, and wrote this Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-Mas'udi. And to God the praise !

§ 154. (v) On folio 10/b there are a number of certificates, in the following serial order : The whole of this text was heard, from the beginning to the end, in the presence of the lady Shaikhah the pious the chaste Umm al-Fadl Karimah daughter of the trustworthy Shaikh Najmuddin 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn 'Ali al-Qurashiyah az-Zubairiyah al-Asadiyah, may God protect her rank, with her permission coming from the Shaikh the noble Abu'l-Khair Muhammad ibn al-Ba-'Inan ( ? ), from the imam Ibn Mindah. Read out by the imam the learned the erudite Kamaluddin Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad ibn Abi'l-Fada'il ibn Abi'l-Majd ad-Dakhmisi, may God profit him, to 'Umar ibn Muhammad ibn Mansur al-Amini and this being his handwriting, may God pardon him. It was corrected and noted on Tuesday 17th of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal of the year 623, in her house, let it remain inhabited by her long life, in the street Darb al-Misk, at Damascus. And praise to God as praise is due to Him !

§ 155. (vi) Just below it in the Andalusian handwriting : Was heard the whole of this *Sahifah* before the majestic Shaikh al-Muqri' Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Abi-Bakr ibn Muhammad al-Balkhi, including the hearing of the owner of this *Sahifah* the majestic chief, the learned, the well-versed, the exact, the trusted of the traditionists, Kamaluddin Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad ibn Abi'l-Fada'il ibn Abi'l-Majd ibn ad-Dakhmisi (cf. above certificate No. V also),

may God enable him and me, including also the jurists Najibuddin Abu'l-Fat'h Nasrullah ibn Abi'l-'Izz ibn Abi-Talib as-Saffar, and Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahid ibn 'Abd as-Saiyid ibn Abi'l-Barakat as-Siqilli, and Ibrahim ibn 'Abdullah ibn ... ( ? 'Uthman, Ghassan, 'Inan) al-Mazawi al-Maghribi, and Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Muhammad al-Birzali al-Ishbili by his reading and this being his handwriting, on Wednesday the 23rd of the month of Jumada al-Akhirah of the year 623, in the Zawiyah (hostel) of Ibn 'Urwah, in the grand mosque of Damascus, may God protect it. And praise to God alone, and His inclination and preservation to His prophet Muhammad !

§ 156. (vii) And immediately after that : The whole of this *Sahifah* was heard before the Hafiz Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Qadir ibn 'Abdullah ar-Ruhawi, by virtue of his hearing from Abu'l-Faraj Mas'ud ibn al-Hasan as-Saifi, from 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Muhammad ibn Yahya ibn Mindah, from his father Muhammad, by virtue of the reading of Isma'il ibn Zafar an-Nabulisi to Yahya ibn Abi-Mansur ibn Abi'l-Fat'h as-Sairafi, together with several others along with the one who noted these names, that is Abu Mansur ibn Abi'l-Fadl ibn Abi-Muhammad al-Baghdadi, and this in the month of Rabi' al-Auwal of the year six hundred and nine ( ? a word is missing, this certificate comes after that of 623 and before that of 670, may be of the years thirteens to sixteens), noting in his own handwriting briefly 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn Hilal al-Azdi al-Azdi (*sic*, twice the same word).

§ 157. (viii) And just below that this final endorsement : I read the whole of this tract before the Shaikh, the imam, the learned, the practising (as it should), the jurisconsult of the Muslims Abu Zakariya Yahya ibn Abi-Mansur ibn Abi'l-Fat'h as-Sairafi al-Jarraz, comparing it with the original copy on which he himself had heard from Abu Muhammad ar-Ruhawi (cf. above, No. vii) with his chain of narrators. So made me hear his companion, the pre-eminent, the majestic Najmuddin Abu'l-Hasan

'Ali ibn 'Imaduddin ibn Muhammad ibn Hilal al-Azdi (apparently the brother of the one who wrote down the certificate No. vii, above), me as well as ... ( ? 'Imaduddin) 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Hibatullah Abi ... ( ? Jaradiya), and 'Abd ar-Rahman and Muhammad both sons of 'Imaduddin Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffar ibn 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Ansari, and Muhammad ibn ash-Shaikh Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ... ( ? al-Qaramishk), and Jalaluddin Ibrahim ibn Isma'il ibn Mubarak al-Halabi, and others, from the original text. Correction was made and the present was noted on the evening of Monday 6th of Dhu'l-Hijjah of the year 670. Wrote it down 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Khamis ibn Yahya ibn Muhammad al-Qudsi, may God pardon him, and he praising God and invoking His inclinations (for the Prophet).

End of the MS.



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Abbreviations : b= ibn (son of).                      bt= bint (daughter of)  
                          g= geographical name                      n = footnote  
                          N<sup>o</sup>= serial number of tradition  
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